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TSANOV SPEECH AT LENIN ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

AU241429 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Apr 82 p 2

[Report by Vasil Tsanov, BCP Central Committee secretary, at celebration held on 21 April 1982 at the Sofia Georgi Kirkov Hall to mark the 112th anniversary of Lenin's birth]

[Excerpt] The remarkable successes achieved in the material and intellectual development of the People's Republic of Bulgaria are unthinkable without the existence of close relations and cooperation with the fraternal countries belonging to the socialist community, above all with the Soviet Union. Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, which is built upon the Leninist principles of socialist internationalism, is a guarantee for the success of socialist construction in our country and for the building of a developed socialist society in Bulgaria, as well as for implementing the transition to communism. This friendship is the driving force and irreplaceable factor for our country's social progress.

Relations between the CPSU and the BCP, between our fraternal countries and peoples, these relations of comprehensive cooperation and of drawing closer together, represent a living example of socialist internationalism in action.

Comrades, since the very first day of its existence and under Lenin's wise leadership, the Soviet country has followed the path of a consistent struggle for lasting peace and peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, a struggle for detente and disarmament, a struggle to eliminate war from man's life. Our world has existed in peace for over four decades mainly due to the Soviet Union -- the country whose peace program has joined together and inspired all progressive people in the world. The Leninist foreign policy embodies the humanitarian goals and essence of Soviet society, the faith in a bright and peaceful future of mankind. It embodies the profound conviction that peace and socialism are indivisible. Leonid Ilich Brezhnev recently declared as follows: "Our party and the Soviet Government are conscientiously fulfilling the people's assignment and are doing everything within their power to justify the hopes of working people in our country and the hopes of all mankind for lasting peace and for bright, cloudless skies over our peaceful planet -- the earth."

The gravity of the contemporary world situation which fills us with concern about the further development of international relations, the growing threat menacing peace -- all these things are caused by the intensifying aggressive policy of the reactionary, imperialist circles, above all of the United States. The escalation of the arms race, provoked by these forces and which creates new areas of tension, contributes to this situation. The attempts of the U.S. administration and of NATO to disrupt the existing military-strategic balance of forces and to shift it to their advantage -- a balance which is the basis of stability in our contemporary world -- all this contributes to the aggravation of the international situation. Imperialism is jeopardizing the fate of mankind and trying to lead the world to the brink of nuclear disaster.

Such attempts are doomed to failure. The countries of the worldwide socialist community, together with progressive and peace-loving forces throughout the world are devoting indefatigable efforts to defend peace and protect their historical achievements, to save mankind from nuclear nightmare. These forces do not imagine the future as an armaments race, but are trying to stop this race and achieve disarmament, as well as peaceful cooperation among peoples, a cooperation based on the strict observance of the peoples' rights and interests, on noninterference in peoples' domestic affairs, on mutual trust and on common efforts to consolidate peace.

The new peace-loving initiatives of the CPSU and the USSR which were recently submitted by Leonid Brezhnev in his speech to the 17th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions are now the focus of attention of the worldwide public. The limitation of nuclear arms in Europe -- this is the key problem in the attempts to avert the danger of a nuclear missile war.

It is the tremendous credit earned by the USSR for the benefit of mankind today, that this country with its international efforts and peace-loving proposals, is creating an objective basis and opening real opportunities to mobilize and coalesce the forces of peace and detente in unified actions. Peoples throughout the world worthily appreciate the peace-loving spirit and good will demonstrated by the USSR which has been and continues to be their support and source of inspiration, their hope in the struggle for peace and social progress. Comrade Todor Zhivkov has stressed as follows: "In our days, when the questions of war and peace have become the decisive problem for mankind, the approach to the Soviet Union is becoming a criterion as regards the attitude toward war and peace. To support the Soviet Union today means to support peace, to oppose war."

The well-coordinated foreign policy of the socialist community is exerting an ever-growing influence upon the development of international events. The foreign policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is an inseparable part of the international activities of the fraternal socialist states. Our foreign policy is a Leninist policy, a consistent policy of principle; it is an honest and constructive policy. It creatively applies the Marxist-Leninist approach and a statesmanlike wisdom in solving the major problems of our time. The basis and unchanging goal of our foreign policy is the consolidation of peace and detente, the strengthening of mutual cooperation and understanding among the peoples on the Balkan Peninsula, in Europe and throughout the world.

Loyal to Lenin's behest, the BCP and the People's Republic of Bulgaria are contributing to the consolidation of the unity and power of the socialist community, of the international communist and workers' movement. They support the sacred struggles of the peoples for social and national liberation. Guided by the sincere aspiration to transform the Balkan Peninsula into a region of stable peace and security in the spirit of the CSCE Helsinki Final Act, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has submitted a series of constructive initiatives. At the 12th BCP Congress Comrade Todor Zhivkov submitted an expanded BCP program which sums up all efforts devoted by Bulgaria to the permanent improvement of an atmosphere of mutual trust in the Balkans. Our country is waging an active struggle to transform the Balkan Peninsula into a nuclear-free zone which would be an important contribution to the final settlement of the problem of nuclear arms throughout the world. Thanks to its constructive and multifaceted efforts, to the advantage of peace and cooperation, the People's Republic of Bulgaria enjoys well-observed international prestige as a desirable and respected partner playing an ever increasing role in international life.

TANCHEV ADDRESSES INTERNATIONAL MEETING

AU221156 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 22 Apr 82

[Summary] The preparatory meeting for convening the second European conference of agrarian-democratic parties, organizations, center parties, radical and liberal parties from Europe, the United States and Canada, opened in Varna today. "High-ranking representatives from 41 parties, organizations and movements from 26 European countries and international organizations are participating in this meeting.

"The meeting is chaired by Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union. In his greetings address he pointed out that the forthcoming conference will represent a highly authoritative forum of the international agrarian and democratic movement and will give a powerful impetus to the further development of cooperation among the aforementioned organizations and movements. Comrade Petur Tanchev expressed confidence that the meeting will contribute anew to the struggle for detente and cooperation." Various foreign delegates also took the floor.

Meeting Ends

AU231945 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 23 Apr 82

[Summary] On 23 April in Varna, the preparatory meeting for convening the second European conference of agrarian-democratic parties and organizations ended. Some topical issues of the international situation were discussed.

"The participants adopted a concluding document which supports the proposal of convening a second European conference devoted to making further efforts in favor of the struggle for peace, disarmament and detente, and for developing international cooperation."

Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and first deputy chairman of the State Council, spoke at the final session. "He dwelt on the role of the European agrarian and democratic public in developing positive processes in international life." He also spoke on Bulgaria's proposal to turn the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone, and stressed the positive response to this proposal, as well as "the support of the USSR, which is ready to guarantee such an agreement, because, as it well known, the idea of making the Balkans a nuclear-free zone emerged after the Crimea meeting and the talks between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Leonid Brezhnev." Petur Tanchev pointed out in conclusion that the United States still has not responded to the Bulgarian proposal.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON DIMITROV ENDS 28 APR

AU281549 Sofia BTA in English 1440 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Sofia, 28 Apr (BTA) -- The international meeting and discussion dedicated to the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov's birth, ended here today.

In the course of two days prominent veterans of the international communist and workers' movement of 12 countries discussed the topicality of the ideas of the great Bulgarian in the contemporary, complicated and perilous international situation.

Pole Stanislaw Wronski, editor-in-chief of the NOWE DROGI magazine, stressed today that Georgi Dimitrov was a great revolutionary of our century. The Polish workers, he stressed, are fighting to overcome the crisis, to defend the sovereignty of the country from the economic blackmail and the propaganda aggression of imperialism.

Mr Wronski said: "Poland will not be a target of the manipulations of those who try to break the balance of powers, to push the arms race, to break the community of the socialist countries. She is and will remain an independent socialist state, member of the socialist community." He emphasized that the reliable backing extended to Poland by the socialist countries led by the USSR, is the best proof of the intransient nature of Georgi Dimitrov's ideas.

All the participants who took the floor today were unamimous on the fact that Georgi Dimitrov's legacy is living and showing itself with full strength in the unity of the socialist community, in the cohesion and still wider scope of the struggle of different organisations, disarmament and peace movements.

Ernst (Buschman) said: "Dimitrov's example contributes to the activating of the nation-wide movement in the FRG against the armament, the revival of fascism and the danger of a new war".

(Marcos Ana) of Spain emphasized that Gerogi Dimitrov's ideas of the unity and unity of action of all the progressive and peace-loving and democratic forces in the struggle against fascism are acquiring particular urgency today.

The participants in the meeting said in one voice that Dimitrov's legacy of a common front in the struggle for peace can guarantee the obstruction to the way of imperialism and fascism and saving mankind form the thermonuclear disaster.

PCI CENTRAL COMMITTEE DELEGATION ENDS VISIT

AU281547 Sofia BTA in English 1435 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Sofia, 28 Apr (BTA) -- A delegation of the CC of the Italian Communist Party, led by Mr Antonio Rubi, member of the party's Central Committee and chief of the CC International Relations Department, was on a visit to Bulgaria on April 26-28, this year, at the invitation of the CC of the BCP.

The delegation was received by Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP. During the talks, which proceeded in a sincere and friendly atmosphere, there was exchange of views on a wide range of questions related to the international workers' movement and the international situation. Information was exchanged of the situation in the two countries and of the two parties' activity. Wish was expressed for further developing and consolidating the traditional relations of friendship, cooperation and solidarity between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Italian Communist Party.

OTECHESTVEN FRONT ON SUGAR SHORTAGE PROBLEMS

AU231353 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 20 Apr 82 p 1

[Article by Metodi Tanev, OTECHESTVEN FRONT observer on domestic policy issues: "Let Us Guarantee the Necessary Amount of Sugar and the Necessary Profitability As Well!"]

[Text] Our concern about the sugar beet and sugar problem is by no means dictated by the state of our domestic market. On the contrary the normal supply of the population with sugar has been smoothly proceeding for several years. There is another problem -- the problem that at certain periods of the year and in certain places in our country, temporary shortages of sugar occur as a result of a higher purchase of sugar by households for homemade preserves and canned fruit, as well as for making wine and brandy.

Our country continues to be among the first in the world as regards sugar sales per capita of the population. It is a party and state task of primary importance to guarantee the normal supply and nutrition of our people. There is no need to make a secret of the fact that we are importing slightly greater quantities of sugar than we are producing. Such fluctuations in sugar beet production have become quite drastic, and as a result of this the same applies to the production of refined sugar, alcohol and other goods. Our agriculture and our sugar processing industry, whose history goes back as long as 70 years, have recently become trapped in a vicious circle from which they cannot free themselves despite the existence of numerous state decisions and scientific solutions in this report.

The drastic change that must occur as early as this year in this sector is not and can by no means remain wishful thinking, nor should it be accompanied by preliminary conditions all beginning with the word "if"...The 1981 plan on the harvest and purchase of sugar beets was fulfilled by 56 percent only, while the sugar processing production plan was fulfilled by an even lower percentage, namely 54.4 percent. The sugar production costs can easily be estimated if we keep in mind the fact that only 62.2 percent of the existing production capacities have actually been used. As to the economic results obtained by the sugar producers and the workers collectives of the powerful and modern plants in Lom, Kemeno and Dolna Mitropoliya, in the plants and factories of Gorna Oryakhovitsa, Ruse and Plovdiv, we can describe the Seventh 5-Year Plan period as being "rather gloomy" for them and the 1981 period as even "more gloomy." Such are the existing facts and figures. To look for reasons and justifications in the unfavorable climate conditions alone and to make the aggravated agricultural structure in sugar beet production okrugs, as well as certain other objective factors and circumstances responsible for this situation,is as incorrect as it is dubious.

Under the same climate and other conditions, certain agro-industrial complexes, branch farms and brigades are obtaining as much as 3 and 4 tons of sugar beet per decare, while many others are obtaining less than 2 tons per decare. Excellent examples have been set in Veliko Turnovo, Ruse, Sliven, Stara Zagora, Yambol, Burgas and other okrugs. At the same time, however, there are diametrically opposed negative examples in the same okrugs, as well as in Plovdiv and Pazardzhik Okrugs where the traditional culture of sugar beet growing has just been revived.

Decision No 53 issued by the Council of Ministers on 31 December 1981 has settled all these problems and has increased the economic incentives for a drastic improvement of sugar beet growing and processing, which is very important because sugar beets as a crop contain a series of unique advantages. Not only sugar, but also yeast for bread, alcohol and citric acid can be obtained from it. Part of the sugar beet crop can also be used for cattle fodder. Sugar beets are a definitely profitable crop, if carefully grown, harvested in time and utilized from top to bottom. In addition to all this the government has guaranteed budget means in the form of premiums in order to encourage the cultivation and processing of sugar beets. We cannot and should not ask for more in this respect. In 1982 a total of 20 leva per ton of purchased sugar beets will be paid as compared with the price for the average quantities of sugar beets throughout the preceeding 5 years. An additional amount of 40 leva per ton will be paid for quantities of sugar beets sold in excess of the task established by the state plan. The new system provides for economic incentives which will be determined by the contents of the sugar beet crop, meaning that not only the quantities of the harvested sugar beets will be estimated, but also the quality of the crop measured in degrees. Such a system has also been established for the purchase of wine grapes by the Vinprom State Economic Trust.

Sugar beets sowing has already started this year on a total of more than 500,000 decares of cultivated plots. A strict and accurate analysis of all previously occurred shortcomings and mistakes is by all means necessary for the national agro-industrial union and for the Bulgarian Sugar Industrial-Agrarian Trust. Such an assessment must also be made by all sugar producing okrugs, by the agro-industrial complexes and by the branch agricultural enterprises. All areas envisaged by the plan for this purpose must be sown with sugar beet crops, and this must be observed by all economic organizations. Scientific experts and specialists must always be present during the sowing and after; they must perform their duties on the spot. The same applies to agronomists, and improvement specialists, plant protection experts, engineers and technicians engaged in servicing agricultural equipment. They must all be at their posts. They must all work in full unanimity of thought and action between science and practical experience. They must implement a whole series of organizational and agrotechnical measures and with the help of the workers collectives engaged in sugar processing enterprises who have a traditional and practical immediate interest in the successful implementation of these tasks, the necedsary and drastic improvement in sugar beet growing and in the sugar processing industry must be implemented as early as this year.

'VACLAV DOLEZAL' CITES AFP 'MISINFORMATION'

AU261405 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Apr 82 p 2

[Vaclav Dolezal article: "Agent Provocateurs and Misinformers; About a Certain, Peculiar Coincidence"]

[Text] "A small group of young Poles staged a demonstration directly in the center of Prague for three quarters of an hour," says a report disseminated to the world from Prague by the French press agency AFP. "At least three young people" were apprehended during the event, the agency added.

So much for the basic fact that appeared in the French newspapers on 19 April. A fact that at the same time provides a small lesson from AFP for anybody who wants to know how to fabricate -- misinformation. Because neither was a "demonstration" staged in Prague, nor did a "small group of Poles" demonstrate on the streets of Prague.

Perhaps a line could be drawn under all this, were it not... were it not for the fact that the invented "demonstration of young Poles directly in the center of Prague" occurred in a context that was extremely interesting, to say the least.

The fact is that "three young people" really were apprehended in Prague (in the meantime they have prematurely "departed" again); however, none of them is of Polish nationality, as AFP sought to imply with a mysterious air. In its very next report from Prague the agency had to specify contritely that "the three persons arrested in Prague were a Frenchman, a Belgian and an Italian." Nevertheless, in its wish to avoid losing the "Polish connection" because of this fiasco, the agency blatantly claimed that one had at least heard "exclamations from a group of Polish citizens."

As was stated by our official sources, the three West European tourists, who had arrived in our country together by train from the FRG, actually did attempt to stage a political provocation with leaflets, albeit unsuccessfully. As the "tourists" confessed, they had been sent to our capital on a "tourist trip" with foreign money, handed out under the name of some pacifist organization.

Actually, the very next day after the "demonstration" that was supposed to have taken place in Prague, but did not, the "Belgian radicals" staged a demonstration in Brussels in front of the Czechoslovak Embassy, demanding the release of "Western pacifists" arrested in Prague. But this is not all. A letter was to have been handed over to the Czechoslovak ambassador, in which the "radicals" demanded from Czechoslovakia nothing more nor less than "a unilateral disarmament; an exit from the Warsaw Pact; and the setting aside of an amount equal to 0.7 percent of the gross national product as aid for people suffering from hunger." The political provocation which the "three young people" were to have staged in Prague on behalf of their concealed sponsors thus suddenly has a common demonimator, contained in the slogans of the Brussels "demonstration."

It is not without interest that at the very same time similar agent provocateurs were allegedly meant ot have come to the fore in the "capitals of Warsaw Pact states," according to press agencies. Actually, this is not the first time that various cover clubs and organizations -- such as the "pacifists" and "radicals" mentioned above -- have been misused for anticommunist provocations. The present attempt was meant to kill two birds with one stone: It was meant to warm up the "Polish" campaign, and to disorient the peace fighters' movement by demagogic slogans. As regards AFP, it played a rather embarrasing role in this comedy: that of a misinformer. The role of agent provocateurs had already been played by others, precisely according to directions adopted by NATO on the "Polish question" in December and also later.

Regardless of who is at the back of misinformers and agent provocateurs, they all have suffered a fiasco together.

SLOVAK DAILY EDITORIAL ON IMPERIALISM, PEACE

AU271800 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Apr 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Work for Socialism -- our Contribution to Peace"]

[Excerpts] We are not living in isolation, in a vacuum. Our economy is not immune from things happening in the current divided world. There is an unavoidable interlinking of events, but not only this. The other part of the world, in which American imperialism prevails, is developing hostile activities against the socialist community and other progressive and peace-loving countries; the purpose is to economically disrupt them, and to destabilize them politically.

It is extremely important for us to realize that our stands, our work and its results, influence not only our domestic, political situation, but that they also operate toward the outside, influencing the creation of opinions on the real socialism in our country, on the authority and position of our socialist fatherland in the world.

Some people in our country have not yet sufficiently grasped the international connections, the class enity, imperialism's hatred toward the socialist countries; and the economic difficulties we are now experiencing evoke in them skepticism and incorrect conclusions. They forget that the revolutionary process is still going on in the world, that there is still a large number of nations which are striving to get rid of the domination of imperialism, and that as long as this situation continues to exist, we cannot avoid certain negative influences and phenomena which affect us from the outside. It will truly depend on the mature attitudes of us all. How we succeed in limiting and weakening these influences.

The socialist states are assessing the conflict with imperialism realtistically. It cannot be resolved by war, since life on our planet could perish in a nuclear conflagration. The only alternative is detente, the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The most reactionary forces of imperialism do not want to respect these realities. They are undertaking an attack against real socialism, against the communist and liberation movements, against all revolutionary and progressive forces, in the hope that imperialism will survive and acquire a position of hegemony in the world.

Immediately after coming to the White House, President Reagan let it be understood that he does not intend to reconcile himself with the loss of American imperialism's dominant position in the world, and he oriented American foreign policy toward the military path, so as to acquire military-strategic supremacy over the socialist community.

During Ronald Reagan's presidency, the White House has openly gone over to the positions of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are the main obstacle to American imperialism's hegemonist plans; and Reagan has indicated time and again the communism should be ended.

In its strategic plans, Washington is concentrating on Europe, where socialism has the strongest positions. Washington believes that if it could acquire supremacy in Europe, this would weaken the progressive and democratic forces on the other continents. That is why the United States does not hesitate to turn Europe into a nuclear battlefield. The theories of prominent American figures on a "limited nuclear war" merely testify to their hateful cynicism, and simultaneously to their naivetie. How else can we call calculations on a nuclear war on the territory of other states, coupled with the belief that U.S. territory would evade the just retribution? Soberly thinking people in the United States itself are taking exception to Reagan's concept of a "limited nuclear war," doubting that the correct decision had been made by those circles which had enabled the man with adventurous inclinations to hold the most responsible post in the state. Above all, Reagan is the product of the most reactionary forces of American imperialism, for whom a politician with more realistic views would perhaps be both undesirable and unfit for use.

The increased aggressiveness of American imperialism is manifested not only in Europe, but also in other parts of the world, in the Middle East, in Africa, and -- perhaps most brutally -- in the area of Central America and the Caribbean. However, regardless of how imperialist rattles its weapons here or there, it no longer determines the world's development. Against the forces of imperialism stands the powerful peace potential, headed by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. It is their side that is producing peace initiatives for resolving all the main international problems. The other side is ignoring these initiatives, it is not responding to them. But the world has noted, and certain Western governments have positively received, the latest generous proposals of the top Soviet representative -- Leonid Brezhnev -- from the rostrum of the Soviet trade unions' congress, proposals for a moratorium on medium-range nuclear arms in Europe and simultaneously for reopening negotiations on strategic arms limitation. Washington strove to present as a threat Comrade Brezhnev's announcement that, should American nuclear missiles be deployed in Europe, the Soviet Union would be forced to adopt measures which would place the other side, that is also the United States and its territories, in a similar situation. In reality, it is a serious warning, or does the United States want to deny the Soviet Union the right to defend the territories of the socialist community, if Washington should continue expanding nuclear missile weapons in the immediate vicinity of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries?

With his aggressive policy President Reagan has discredited himself among most of his allies in Western Europe. The West received with reserve Reagan's proposal of a "casual" [prilezitostne] meeting with Leonid Brezhnev in New York, at the UN General Assembly's extraordinary disarmament session. The Soviet Union has not remained aloof to this suggestion, it reached to it with a more realistic proposal. In his reply to the daily PRAVDA, Leonid Brezhnev expressed his willingness to meet President Reagan at a well-prepared meeting in Finland of Switzerland, during which the most burning problems could be constructively discussed. Reagan's vague invitation was countered by Leonid Brezhnev's clearcut, unambiguous reply. If Reagan is really interested in a useful meeting with Leonid Brezhnev and in discussing matters concerning the preservation of peace -- as he recently stated -- then the first step toward this goal should be made from his side.

Czechoslovakia will support every effort for definitely averting war and consolidating peace. In the battle of the two worlds we are standing firmly at the side of the Soviet Union, the socialist community and all progressive and peace-loving forces. Despite imperialism's destructive policy, socialism will continue on its unchangeable path. Its milestones have been shown to us also by the program of the 16th congress of our party; we must do all we can for fulfilling it.

DZUR-LED DELEGATION RETURNS FROM INDOCHINA

LD281820 Prague CTK in English 1701 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Prague, 28 Apr (CTK) -- A Czechoslovak military delegation, led by Defence Minister Army General Martin Dzur, returned here Wednesday from an official friendly visit to Laos, Vietnam and Kampuchea.

At the close of its visit to Kampuchea the delegation was received by chairman of the Council of Ministers, Chan Si. The talks took place in a friendly atmosphere.

The Czechoslovak delegation was received cordially in the fraternal countries of Indochina. It met with gratitude for the internationalist aid Czechoslovak grants to the countries. It inspected military installations, schools and other facilities, and got acquainted with the achievements of the peoples in overcoming the difficult consequences of war years and in the construction of a socialist society.

POLEDNIK COMMENTS ON VISIT TO LAOS 28 APR

LD281826 Prague CTK in English 1717 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Vientiane, 28 Apr (CTK) -- The 3rd Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos is taking place in peace conditions, in a free and independent country, head of the Czechoslovak delegation Jindrich Polednik, secretary of the communist party Central Committee, stressed in today's discussion at the congress.

He condemned the U.S. imperialism and its efforts to reverse the progressive development in the country, and stressed the importance of Soviet peace proposals and the effort of Laos, Vietnam and Kampuchea to change South-East Asia into a zone of peace and security, in spite of the machinations of imperialism and Chinese hegemonism.

Jindrich Polednik underlined the successful development of bilateral relations, adding that the visit of a Czechoslovak party and state delegation, led by President Gustav Husak, to Laos in 1980 contributed to the development of the contacts.

The fraternal relations between the parties of the two countries are a guarantee that the forthcoming years will be a period of further deepening of friendship between the Czechoslovak and Laotian people, and of the development of mutually beneficial cooperation, Polednik said.

CPCZ'S BILAK MEETS WITH RCP'S CAZACU IN BUCHAREST

LD281538 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, has arrived by air in Bucharest for a working visit. In the building of the RCP Central Committee he started talks with Virgil Cazacu, member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the party Central Committee. On the agenda are Czechoslovak-Romanian cooperation and an exchange of views on topical international issues.

KAPEK RECEIVES SOFIA OFFICIAL 28 APRIL

LD281534 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Antonin Kapek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chief secretary of the Prague City Party Committee, received today a delegation from Bulgaria's capital of Sofia, headed by Petur Mezhdurechki, chairman of the Sofia City People's Council Executive Committee. Comrade Kapek stressed that the successfully developing friendly relations of the two cities serve not only mutual contacts of its inhabitants, but, above all, bilaterally advantageous and useful cooperation in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life.

LEADERS CONGRATULATE AFGHAN LEADERS ON HOLIDAY

AU281033 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Apr 82 p 1

[Text] Prague, 26 Apr (CTK) --Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, and Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier, sent Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the People's Democratic Patty of Afghanistan Central Committee, and Soltan 'Ali Keshtmand, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, a congratulatory telegram on the occasion of the state holiday of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan -- the fourth anniversary of the April Revolution.

The telegram states, among other things:

We in the CSSR welcomed the victory of the April Revolution in Afghanistan, which opened a new phase in the country's history. We are sincerely glad about the results that are being achieved today by the Afghan people under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party with the international support of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community and of progressive forces in building the new, socially just society, and in defending the revolutionary achievements against the attacks and intrigues of imperialism and internatinal reaction.

We hold in high esteem the principled foreign policy of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and its contribution to the joint struggle for peace and progress in the world. We fully support the efforts of the Afghan Government and its enterprising steps toward the political settlement of the situation and toward developing cooperation among the states in the area.

We are convinced, the telegram states in conclusion, that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two parties and countries, between the Czechoslovak and the Afghan people, will continue to develop comprehensively on the basis of the treaty on friendship and cooperation between the CSSR and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, signed on 24 June 1981, for the benefit of the people of both countries and in the interests of peace and progress in the world.

Likewise, Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, sent a congratulatory telegram to Shah Mohammad Dost, minister of foreign affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, on the occasion of the state holiday of the latter's country.

MASS MEDIA EXECUTIVES CONFER ON CURRENT TASKS

AU261619 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Apr 82 p 2

[CTK report: "Tasks of Journalism After the Sixth CPCZ Central Committee Session"]

[Text] Prague, 22 Apr (CTK) -- An all-state conference of the leading workers of our mass communications media was held this Thursday in Prague with Jan Fojtik, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, in the chair.

Jindrich Polednik, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, provided information on the conclusions, drawn by the Sixth CPCZ Central Committee session and on the tasks of the press, radio and television in improving the work of national committees; he also replied to the numerous questions of the journalists present.

STROUGAL ADDRESS ON EAST SLOVAK IRONWORKS

LD282120 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Excerpt] After the first smelt in the steel plant of the East Slovak iron works, which yeilded more than 100 tons of steel, members of the party and government delegation met with the builders of this project and those who will work here -- representatives of 17 Czechoslovak engineering enterprises, Soviet experts and workers from the steel plant. The meeting was addressed by Lubomir Strougal, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and federal premier:

[Begin recording in Czech] Esteemed comrades, dear friends, esteemed guests. Today, here in the East Slovak ironworks, we are commissioning modern equipment for continuous steel casting.

This progressive technology represents an important and effective form of modernization; it creates prerequisites for raising the quality of products; there is better utilization of metals; and there are significant savings of electricity. In the longterm we expect to use this equipment for producing as much as 1 million tons of steel a year which will result in a better utilization of metal by about 12 percent and in a saving of electricity of about 150,000-200,000 tons of measurable fuel. I think this fact alone clearly speaks about the effectiveness of this project, which has cost almost Kcs800 million. Continuous casting of steel represents one of the major directions to be followed by our metallurgy in the next period. On behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, its general secretaty and president of the Czechoslavak Socialist Republic, Comrade Husak, on behalf of the Central Council of Trade Unions and the Federal Government, I sincerely congratulate all who have contributed to the successful completion of this important project.

Our thanks go to the hundreds and thousands of workers of our Czechoslovak organizations, to builders and engineers, to designers and planners, who have contributed to the construction of this demanding and technologically complex project. At the same time, I wish to express high appreciation of the work of the Ural engineering enterprise of Sverdlovsk and the activity of the group of Soviet experts headed by Chief Engineer (Vasil Vasilyevich Golov), whose work and experience hascontributed to the successful completion of this important project. A worthwhile job has been done well and now we are able to wish for the working team of the East Slovak Ironworks that the new equipment and, literally, the entire new enterprise serves them without hitches and problems, that they fully master its secrets and tricks and, above all, that in the planned time they achieve its performance parameters for the good of the entire national economy. In the interest of the further development of metallurgy, in the interest of the good reputation of the trade mark of the East Slovak ironworks.

In your enterprise another very important project -- from an national economic point of view -- is now being realized: the construction of large-scale coking battery no. 3. We have no doubt that the chief contractor and all subcontractors will utilize the experience gained during the construction of the equipment for continuous casting of steel slabs, and that in cooperation with the economic, party, trade union and youth organizations they will make every effort to meet the time schedules of this project.

Once again, on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CPSL Central Committee, the Central Council of Trade Unions and the government, I thank everybody for their selflessness and initiative, for their good work on the important project which you are commissioning today. I wish you, and all foundry workers all over Czechoslovakia, many sucesses in the realization of our common goals in the interest of the development of our beautiful country -- the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. [applause] [end recording]

More on Strougal Speech

LD282146 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Excerpt] Here in the East Slovak ironworks the first steel has appeared on the new continuous line of the production of steel. Present at this festive moment, apart from the builders of the entire project, is a party and government delegation headed by Federal Premier Comrade Lubomir Strougal. Also in the delegation are Comrades Miloslav Hruskovic, Josef Haman, Ladislav Gerle, and others. Having inspected the whole enterprise Comrade Strougal said, among other things, at a meeting with the working people:

[Begin recording] We put emphasis on quality, on raising the useful value, and on such reconstruction of the structure which would be best for the consumers from a quality point of view. The expansion of continuous casting, increasing the proportion of converter steel, and investing in other modern technologies -- these are the directions we wish to follow in the 1980's. We have already done something in this direction.

In the course of the Sixth 5-Year Plan we extended the production of converter steel here, in the East Slovak ironworks; we expanded the production of electric steel in the United Steelworks at Kladno; we created prerequisites for the development of the production of high-quality tubes in the Jan Sverma ironworks at Podbrezova and in the (Chomutov) tube rolling mills and ironworks. Through the construction of new rolling mills in the Klement Gottwald new foundry and in Poldi-Kladno, we created the prerequisites for liquidating existing obsolete equipment.

In the Seventh 5-Year Plan we shall commission steelworks with oxygen convertors in the ironworks at Trinec. We also expect that soon we shall use in practice the positive results of production tests of a Czechoslovak patent [word indistinct] developed in Vitkovice. The investment funds we want to use in the reconstruction of metallurgy must be used as well as possible. They must ensure the necessary quality and variety of metallurgical production, and a higher proportion of high-tensile and high-grade steels with guaranteed quality. Foundry workers must adjust the variety of their production to the needs and requirements of customers. They must create prerequisites for technological progress in engineering. It is above all the qualitative aspect of metallurgy production and the flexibility and speed of supplies that influence to a considerable extent the consumption of metals in our entire national economy.

At the moment we occupy one of the foremost places in the production of steel. At first glance this fact may be quite a good one -- but there is another side of the coin, too: the fact is that, per unit of the final product, we consume much more metal than other industrially developed states.

It is also known that the production of metals is very demanding from the energy point of view: for each ton of rolled material we need 1.5-1.6 tons of measurable fuel; our metallurgy requires approximately 20 percent of all primary energy sources. It is known that more than 80 percent of the raw materials used in metallurgy are imported from abroad -- and in conditions which are ever more unfavorable for us. Everything indicates that we must make better use of our exceptionally vast metal fund which is vested above all in the existing machinery and equipment and which represents at least 100 million [unit not specified] of ferrous metals, so far, we are phasing out obsolete machinery and equipment insufficiently so that the turnover of this metal fund in our country is very slow. It is taking more than 25 years while elsewhere it is as much as 10 years less. An acceleration of the turnover by at least 1 year would bring us 100,000 tons of scrap metal for recycling. In this sphere there are great potential reserves which must be utilized. [end recording]

LENART ADDRESSES CONGRESS OF COMPOSERS' UNION

LD281830 Prague CTK in English 1135 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Prague, 28 Apr (CTK) -- "Our socialist society has made cultural and artistic values, including the rich heritage of our national cultures, widely accessible to the public", Jozef Lenart, Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and first secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee, said Wednesday at the 2nd Congress of the Union of Czechoslovak Composers.

It is necessary, together with progressive people in capitalist countries, to counter the policy of the alienation of nations from their cultures, the dictate of profit in culture, the policy of cosmopolitanism. It is necessary to counter the morals of force, criminality, racism, drug-addiction, spread by mass media of U.S. imperialism, Jozef Lenart said.

The U.S. imperialist circles even menace European culture, the whole mankind and its civilization with a nuclear war. "Under these conditions, the socialist states, firmly united around the Soviet Union, and all progressive forces all over the world, have the task to frustrate the mad plans to unleash a nuclear war", Jozef Lenart said.

He also appreciated the success of the Czechoslovak music culture abroad. "Our music is highly appreciated abroad and our musicians, whose mastery has gained still greater reknown under socialism, have become real envoys of our culture acquainting foreign audiences with socialist Czechoslovakia", Jozef Lenart said.

OCEAN VENTURE EXERCISES TERMED 'AGGRESSIVE'

DW281207 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1430 GMT 27 Apr 82

[Heinz Brittsche commentary]

[Text] Ocean Venture is now the eighth major naval war exercise held by the United States in the Caribbean area since last October. It directly follows the Readex naval maneuvres in which 39 warships, including 2 aircraft carriers with 200 combat aircraft, have been participating since early April. The size and scope are comparable to the British armada off the Falkland Islands.

The NATO naval maneuver Safe Passage was also centered not far from the maneuver area. In Safe Passage 30 warships practiced for an outbreak of hostilities in the Gulf of Mexico in the first half of March. These warships were from six NATO states with the frigate Augsburg of the FRG Navy participating as well. The frigate Koeln, by the way, participated last year in the Ocean Venture 81 exercises after the destroyers Rommel and Hamburg and the frigate Luebeck and the supply ship Glueckburg had reconnoitered, as it were, the Caribbean and Central and Latin America. But getting back to the U.S. exercises: Missions by B-52 strategic bombers in connection with an invasion, a landing on Puerto Rico, are planned in support of the naval war exercises. The U.S. Navy, under the command of Admiral Harry Train, is primarily practicing variations of the newly defined naval warfare strategy of the United States. This includes not only combat with enemy ships but also insuring U.S. access to raw materials and fuels as well as support for the Rapid Deployment Force as, for instance, in the planned landing operation on Puerto Rico, the operation practiced earlier in Guatanamo or, on an especially large scale, an operation undertaken in California's Mojave Desert and simultaneously on the Korean Peninsula. There, too, the landing of 20,000 Marines was supported by 56 U.S. warships, including the aircraft carrier Midway.

The aggressive character of the new U.S. naval war strategy under which the fleets are already operating is revealed by its phrasing. I quote the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE of 12 April: The Navy's missions would be sending carrier battle groups into Soviet waters so that naval aviators can deliver strikes on Soviet targets; bottling up Soviet fleets by closing what are called choke points; and fighting Soviet ships, particularly submarines, if they reach the Atlantic or the Pacific. That is the explanation of the new U.S. naval war strategy which, by the way, proceeds from the premise that the Navy is supposed to survive a prolonged naval battle. Even if this sounds like madness, there is method to it as far as the Pentagon is concerned -- it is the method used to justify a most megalomaniac naval arms buildup. In the next few years the United States plans to increase its war fleet to 600 ships and about 2,000 war planes to achieve unequivocal superiority on all seas, as Secretary of the Navy John Lehmann has said.

Ocean Venture is also intended to demonstrate that aspiration. What is involved, however, is not just a sea venture, as the name of the operation implies, but a risky adventure aimed directly against peace. The states bordering on the Caribbean are not the only ones being provoked -- which is bad enough in itself; peace in general is being threatened.

BORDER FORTIFICATIONS EXTENDED IN SPANDAU AREA

LD281646 Hamburg DPA in German 1603 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Berlin, 28 Apr (DPA) -- The GDR is extending its border fortifications. In the border area of the Spandau Bezirk opposite the Potsdamer Chaussee, GDR workmen have started building bunkers of approximately two meters by two meters. The bunkers, built of ready-made concrete, are equipped with slits for viewing and firing. They are being built on the approximately 6-km long border strip, directly beside the approximately 12-meter high watchtowers, to which they also have a telephone connection. The work is being watched from the West by British military police.

TISCH DELIVERS FDGB CONGRESS REPORT 21 APRIL

DW211309 East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 0813 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Report by FDGB National Executive Committee delivered by Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive Committee and member of the SED Politburo, to the 10th FDGB Congress in the Palace of the Republic in East Berlin -- live]

[Text] Dear Delegates, esteemed guests, dear colleagues:

The FDGB prepared for its 10th congress in a great democratic election movement. Prepared for its 10th congress in a great democratic election movement. All of us who received their mandate in these elections experienced the common will of the trade union members to face the tasks of the eighties and to prepare their fulfillment. We derive this will from the decisions of the 10th SED Congress. Together we consistently continue along the course of the main task.

What the time before us requires and what it is to bring was expressed by our comrade and colleague Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, with the following words at the 10th party congress. He said: This is a time of new initiatives and creative work, a time in which the GDR will further strengthen and flourish. The tasks we pose for ourselves are great and fine, but not easy. Life under socialism is to be preserved and further enhanced for all, and peace will prevail in the future. The FDGB Central Executive Board can state here: The more than 9 million GDR trade union members are giving their best for the implementation of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress. [applause] This policy of the party is our policy.

Dear colleagues, at all FDGB congresses we have held to the truth imparted by the founders of scientific socialism: The working class is revolutionary or it is nothing. This is why we have always perceived it as a commandment of self-respect and as being a matter of course for us to be fighting comrades of the Marxist-Leninist party and, at its side and under its leadership, to be working and struggling for the interests of the working people and for social progress. [applause]

The delegates of the First FDGB Congress were guided by the finding: A powerful German SED will [word indistinct] to promote the independent role of the Free German Trade Union and to make it invincible. That's the way it is, dear colleagues. That finding has become living reality. The balance sheet which we can present to this congress confirms this (?anew).

Today, dear colleagues, dear comrades and friends, is 21 April. The revolutionary SED was created 36 years ago -- the party under whose leadership we, as trade unions, became active participants in the organization of our socialist society. This is why on this very date we would like to convey our greetings and our gratitude to all communists of our country, to the SED Central Committee and in particular to its general secretary, our friend and comrade, Erich Honecker. [prolonged applause, cheers]

Dear colleagues, the report period has been one of hard work for the further successful organization of socialism in our country. In this respect we have continually perfected our own activities and developed, in the unity of the tasks for the well-being of our members, the essence of trade union work in our society, namely, being the school of socialism, the motor of socialist competition, and the representative of the interests of the workers and employees. Thus we can state before this congress: The decisions which we adopted at the Ninth FDGB Congress have been fulfilled.

The trade unions' representation of interests today includes more than ever before the struggle for safeguarding peace. We must in fact say unequivocally that this is the supreme question. Since World War II peace has never been as threatened as it is now. The transition of the most aggressive circles of imperialism, especially those of the United States, to the policy of confrontation and arms buildup has increasingly burdened international relations. This course of imperialist policy is quite clearly directed against the positive changes attained in the cooperation among states in the seventies through the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The more the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system intensify in economic crises and mass unemployment and in inflation and all kinds of social distress, and the more the instability of the exploiter system grows, the more strongly imperialism pursues a policy of violence and aggression. Indicative of this is also the inglorious statement by the U.S. secretary of state -- which has often been quoted but which cannot be quoted often enough -- that there are more important things than living in peace.

This is the declared policy of U.S. imperialism. It is manifest in the monstrous arms buildup with constantly new and costly weapons systems, in the blackmail and threats against other states, in the brazen acts of interference in internal affairs -- actions which are at variance with international law. All this coincides with a veritable flood of anti-communist and anti-Soviet agitation for the purpose of clouding the minds of people and of misusing them as compliant tools of imperialism policy of world domination.

We know from our own bitter experience what immeasurable sorrow war brings to mankind. Another world war would call the further existence of mankind into question. A new stage has begun in the struggle for peace, and socialism is proving to be the strongest peace force. What prevails under socialism is the principle of peace because under it the principle of work rather than of profit dominates.

Socialism entered this world 65 years ago with the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The decree of peace marked the beginning of the development of the first worker-peasant power. Ever since the country of Lenin has always proved to be the consistent champion of the cause of peace. [applause]

The Soviet people have made many sacrifices to win and preserve peace. Under socialism peace policy is indeed the supreme state policy. Thus new initiatives and proposals have repeatedly originated in the Soviet Union and in the countries of the socialist community, proposals which show realistic ways of guaranteeing and consolidating peace through arms limitation and disarmament based on the principle of equality and equal security for all. Just a few weeks ago at the 17th Soviet Trade Unions Congress Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev noted the efforts of the Soviet Union to curb the arms race through the unilateral moratorium on the deployment of medium-range nuclear weapons in the European part of the USSR and through further proposals concerning disarmament and the safeguarding of peace.

These significant steps meet with our full approval. [prolonged applause] Peace and peace again and again -- this is the most important issue of our time and we will fight for it with all our passion. [applause]

Depending on developments and on how the real situation takes shape, we will at all times also do whatever is required to guarantee our security. We do not, however, regard this as an inevitable necessity. In our political will and in our intentions, we are united here with the demands and desires of millions of working people in all countries which advocate and struggle for arms limitation and disarmament, for a ban on nuclear weapons and means of mass destruction, for negotiations and detente, and for understanding and cooperation. The will of the peoples must halt the arms madness which is preventing and destroying social progress, and which undermines peace. It is our view that this is the responsibility of the entire international trade union movement.

We propose to the delegates of this congress that a statement on peace be adopted which defines our trade union's stance on the most important question of the present. [applause]

To make peace strong it is necessary to keep strengthening it and to ensure that it gains additional forces. In our country every trade union member has a wide field of action in this regard, above all at his own job and in the development of his own work results. Consequently, during the many meetings for our elections, we gave clear answers to our colleagues' question of what an individual could do out of his concern for peace.

It is for good reason that the imperialists dislike nothing more than socialism which is flourishing through good and fruitful work. This is because this means strong socialism which constantly better satisfies the needs of the people and which defends peace. We proudly say: Our country's workers class is aware of its revolutionary duty. [applause]

It was not by accident that we established the important connection in our competition slogan between the basic economic tasks for strengthening socialism, the welfare of the working people and peace -- this vitally important matter. We stated at our ninth congress that the main task was to further increase the material and cultural living standards of the people on the basis of rapidly developing socialist production, increased effectiveness, scientific-technical progress and growing labor productivity. This forms the basis of trade union activity in our worker-peasant state, and our actions in this respect are the best form of trade union representation.

In view of the logical unity of economic and social policies we proceeded from the assumption that the continuation of the social-political program is directly connected with the dynamic development of our national economy and that this depends on the will and ability of the workers' class and its alliance partners to achieve the necessary increased effectiveness. In this realistic and constructive spirit, we trade union members committed ourselves to the previous congress decisions and developed our work accordingly. The result is that even under increasingly complicated conditions, the building of the developed socialist society has achieved considerable further progress for mankind.

Let facts speak for themselves: The GDR economy has continuously shown considerable growth rates in past years. In view of critical developments in the capitalist countries, this clearly demonstrates the advantages of a planned socialist economy. In the 1971-75 5 year plan period, we achieved a total national income of M640 billion, while in 1976-80 it amounted to a total of M813 billion. In 1981 the increase in the produced national income amounted to 5 percent compared with the previous year.

The most important norm of growing effectiveness is and always will be labor productivity. In 1980 it was 53.6 percent higher than in 1970. It developed even faster in the industrial field. Labor productivity of workers and employees increased in the field by 68 percent during the same period. These outstanding results have been achieved mainly by the initiatives of the working people in socialist competition. It has developed strongly, particularly in the year of the 10th SED Congress. The working people lived up to their commitments. Goods worth M4.2 billion above the 1981 target plan were produced. That amounts to a volume of more than 3 days output.

All this permitted the progress our society achieved and promoted the further development of working and living conditions in an atmosphere of social security and safety. What has been achieved with regard to the development of living conditions is particularly important for the welfare of the working people.

Since our ninth congress in 1977, some 887,860 apartments have been built or modernized. It is a pleasure to state such a result at our trade union congress. In this connection we also have in mind the fact that in numerous Western countries housing construction has been decreasing for years despite the need for housing.

There is also another important aspect of social security in this connection. Since the establishment of the GDR, rents for old apartments have not changed. In newly built apartments throughout the GDR, from 80 pfennigs to a maximum of M1.25 per square meter are charged as rent.

Where is something comparable in any capitalist country? Nowhere, my colleagues. By exploiting a shortage of apartments -- sometimes created intentionally -- rents are being increased step by step. This even applies to apartments which are part of the so-called social housing construction in West Berlin. Since April 1982, rents for many apartments have increased by 13.9 percent. The rent per square meter now amounts to DM5.30. According to reports from Sweden, rent for a 3-room apartment amounts to DM640, computed in that currency. This represents a 15 percent increase compared with last year. Apartments under capitalism are objects for speculation and enrichment. Trade union comrades from capitalist countries often ask us: Why is it different here, how do you do this? The first thing we say in reply is that we are a worker-peasant state where all decisions are based on social security and well-being of the people -- decisions in which trade unions are also involved. [applause]

We have decided to use a considerable portion of state means resulting from good work for housing and the continuation of stable and low apartment rents. From 1971 to 1981 the large amount of about M50 billion was used in this connection.

Let us discuss other facts on our balance sheet: From 1977, the year of the Ninth FDGB Congress, to the end of 1981, basic salaries were introduced for almost 2 million production workers and performance salaries for 530,000 foremen as well as university and professional school cadres. Due to increased performance the wages of these workers increased by M30-120 a month; those of foremen by M70-120; and those of university and professional school cadres by up to M150. In addition to the introduction of productivity wages, more than 20 centrally agreed wage policy measures, qualifications, responsibilities and performance were better taken into consideration. The measures we have agreed on in 1981 alone will cost in 1982 far more than M2 billion. Many of these measures were aimed at greater recognition of work performed under difficult conditions in line with the main task of improving the material, social and cultural level and of further increasing lower wages.

In the 1977-81 period, wage increases and performance-stimulating measures for 5.2 million working people became effective. More than 50 percent of the working people received two wage increases in this period of time. This pertains particularly to those groups of people working under difficult conditions.

In addition to the centrally agreed measures, there is the annual wage increase which is available to plants according to the plan to stimulate performance. Wages and premiums are the main income components. The average monthly gross income of fully employed workers and employees of state-owned plants increased from M947 in 1977 to M1,055 in 1981. The average premiums paid in state-owned industries increased for fully employed people from M1,086 in 1977 to M1,233 in 1981.

The states contributions and benefits from the social funds, which are of great importance for the living standards of all working people, were increased considerably. Through these measures the low consumer prices for basic goods, fares and rents are guaranteed as well as the effectiveness of social insurance run by the trade union.

The measures which have been effective since last September resulted from concern for the coming generation. In line with these measures all apprentices received more pay, all students receive state scholarships and higher study is being further stimulated. All students in the 11th and 12th grades of advanced secondary schools receive education subsidies. At the same time considerably higher credits are being given to young married couples and subsidies for three or more children have been increased to M100 a month.

What have we achieved in the fields of recreation and free time, which are most important for the working people? At the time of the Ninth FDGB Congress about 3 million travel tours were available annually through the FDGB leave service and factory recreation facilities. In 1981 the number of travel tours was increased to more than 4.6 million, with recreational opportunities for families with many children having been particularly increased.

Dear colleagues, in briefly summarizing a few particularly important results for the working people here, what has been achieved through trade union influence regarding working conditions in factories must also be mentioned. Since 1977 some 1.1 million jobs have been created or adapted. In doing this we frequently succeeded in eliminating or limiting factors which were complicating work conditions or endandgering health, thus making work safer. From 1977 to 1981 the number of reported work accidents was reduced by 27,000. The accident rate declined by a considerable 13 percent. This speaks well for us also with regard to international standards.

What all these facts mean? They speak of the success of our work and also of the effectiveness of trade union representation in our socialist country.

They speak of the increased strength of the workers class and its trade union class organization, and of the high degree of its influence in all spheres of economic and social life. They speak of the quality and effectiveness of our cooperation with the socialist state and its organs. Finally, we see in the results of our own work the confirmation of our confidence in the correctness of the policy and the leadership strength of the SED. [applause]

Dear colleagues, we will continue, under the tested leadership of the SED, to do everything to strengthen our socialist state and to promote our concept of growth, stability, full employment and social security in this decade when we will also have to cope with harder framework conditions for our economic management.

Trade union people are realistically thinking people. They know what the political and economic map of the world is like. Considering its territorial dimensions, our GDR appears only as a modest spot on that map. As far as the natural economic riches in the earth are concerned, we definitely are not among those who have been most favored. Yet, with the economic strategy of the 10th SED Congress we are steering a clear course toward the GDR maintaining its place in the group of leading industrial states as a country of economic growth. In this we stand by our policy of everything for the well-being of the people. [applause]

An analysis of the present situation with its contradictory tendencies and phenomena makes it expressly clear to us what the basic values of socialism are and what these safeguarded values mean for the life of the working people. The working man in our country feels protected against the unprecedented contempt for humanity -- contempt contained in the expectation that he put up with unemployment. The working man in the world of capital is exposed to this expectation under the wolfish laws prevailing there, as though this were the most natural thing in the world. The current number of unemployed in the capitalist industrial countries is 28.5 million. At the time of the Ninth FDGB Congress, the number was 18 million. Obnoxious propaganda even maligns these unemployed people with the accusation that they have themselves to blame for their fate because they do not want to work, at any rate not enough, and that they are too lazy to even ensure their daily subsistence themselves. Only capitalism is capable of denouncing the working man as a sort of lazy dog for the sake of justifying the system. This is what its current social policy is like.

Then the so-called theoreticians of the bourgeoisie, who pass all this off as acceptable, have the nerve to be haughty toward us, trying to make us believe that the social security existing in our country makes socialism an ineffective social system.

Yet, as far as we are concerned the stable social security of the working people, which we have so consistently improved under the clearly defined leadership of our party, constitutes an essential proof of the effectiveness and benefits of our socialist system. Socialism serves mankind. This is what the party of the workers class has not only advocated verbally but also proved through the unity of economic and social policies and the concern for life created in that process. [applause]

Representative of this is everything that we have done and will do for the working man with the sociopolitical program, ranging from housing construction to wage development and improvement in working conditions, and concern for marriages and children, leisure time and recreation, and education and culture. In the capitalist industrial states a bulldozer is recklessly scraping away what working people have accomplished, often in hard struggles. What is happening in the capitalist world today in the area of stripping social benefits merely underscores for us the value of what has been attained here and the value of a solidly based future. All this creates additional impetus for energetically exploiting the options of socialism and making them constantly more effective for man, even under conditions that have become more complicated.

Everything that we trade union members do as a part of our responsibility during this historically significant period can only be aimed at further strengthening our state in every respect -- a state whose whole activities are directed toward the well-being of the people and toward safeguarding peace. German worker-peasant power -- this is and remains the greatest achievement of the workers class and of the working people. [applause]

The FDGB helped found and shape our GDR. At the Third FDGB Congress in 1950 the establishment of the socialist social system was declared the goal of the trade unions and incorporated in the statute. For the first time in the history of the German workers class, a trade union congress avowed Marxism-Leninism, the leading role of the revolutionary party of the workers class, friendship with the Soviet Union and the principles of proletarian internationalism. We have unerringly adhered to this ever since. The Third FDGB Congress stipulated once and for all the goals of the FDGB. These remain valid and will never change. [applause]

Dear colleagues, Comrade Honecker said in the report to the 10th SED Congress that the social policy of the SED centers on our economy and on the great work of our people for large increases in economic performance. Never before has the interconnection between the potential of our national economy, the organization of the material and cultural standard of living, and the tasks for safeguarding peace been as essential and significant as it is today. The demands on our economy have increased to an extraordinary degree. We are prepared to face the requirements associated with this. Retreat is unknown to us. This honorable and militant tradition will be the determining factor for us in the future as well.

The economic strategy adopted by the 10th SED Congress is our party's reply to the challenge of the eighties. We are aware that we are only at the beginning of the solution of the tasks. The adaptation of the entire national economy to the tasks of this decade must be very concretely broken down to every work collective and every job so that the conditions and requirements prevalent today and expected for the future will be met with good results. We must proceed everywhere from the premise that we do not have raw materials and energy sources for our economic targets in the quantities originally planned. The questions concerning input and results and the effectiveness and quality of work thereby gain great and new importance. In fact, they must be viewed anew and considered in the light of prevalent conditions wherever production is performed. We are aware that we must cope with the profound process of economizing the entire national economy. In many respects this also places the trade unions before far-reaching tasks in connection with representing the interests of the working people.

We undertake these tasks in the conviction that in the advantages of the socialist planned economy, above all in its ability to react flexibly to new developments, we possess a great asset for mastering even complicated tasks. The road toward attaining this objective has been prescribed in the 10 key tasks of the economic strategy. We fully adopt these as our own. They thus also form the starting point and the content of socialist competition which we will continue to wage under the tested slogan: High Performance Growth for Increased Labor Productivity, Efficiency and Quality -- Everything for the Well-Being of the People and for Peace.

Dear colleagues, dear delegates, people may philosophize as they please about the role of trade unions under socialism. As we view matters in the GDR, unless trade unions under socialism participate with all determination in the struggle for increased economic potential, they do not live up to their mission as representatives of the interests of the workers class and of all working people. [applause]

Dear colleagues, we have always considered it a decisive task of representation to ensure that all working people properly understand the significance of each individual's own good and of efficient work for the prosperity of our socialist society and for the individual well-being. Our maxim that only what has first been produced can be consumed and that nobody is allowed to live at the expense of another, is firmly rooted in the minds of the working people. It characterizes the new attitude toward work which befits the socialist producer and owner of the means of production, and it has become an important motivating force in socialist competition.

Competition as a whole is a concrete expression of the leading role of the working class and of its wielding of power. In competition socialist personalities develop, that is people who react independently to new challenges and who advocate with determination the political and economic strengthening of our GDR. The competition commitments of the working people of the Riesa steel and rolling mill, the Frankfurt/Oder semiconductor plant, the Halbmond carpet factory in Oelsnitz and others -- I could name very many indeed -- which marked the opening of socialist competition in 1982, have become the starting point of a broad mass movement for the fulfillment and purposeful overfulfillment of the 1982 plan, a mass movement aimed especially at exploiting the qualitative factors of economic growth.

The competition decisions by the shop stewards were clearly aimed at further intensifying production through scientific-technical progress and socialist rationalization, at considerably increasing labor productivity, and at producing more with slightly more effort while simultaneously improving working and living conditions.

The example of the Riesa colleagues with their plan to not fully use up their raw material and energy funds and to return some of the funds to the state created an echo in other combines and plants in the first months of this year causing them to make similar decisions. It is now important to carefully weigh all performance reserves, to take competition dynamics fully into consideration and to further qualify economic management activities accordingly. Conditions must be created everywhere, as has been done in some combines following the Leipzig seminar and the letter sent to the general secretary, to overfulfill the 1982 plan by at least 2 days' production through new socialist competition commitments.

Such important tasks as producing 2.8 million tons of raw soft coal above the plan; the additional acquisition of steel, iron and nonferrous metal scrap as well as of timber; and the nonuse of raw material and energy funds worth about M1 billion and returning these savings to the state, as well as decreasing basic material costs by M500 million beyond the plan, are of great significance for strengthening our national economy. All this is a truly great task, however, great tasks mobilize great strength if their significance is fully realized and if they are handled in a well-organized way. We have experienced this often enough in our competition. It is true that the workers' class, the working people of our country, have always considered great tasks a challenge to their creative talent and militant ability.

For increased socialist competition effectiveness it is decisive to purposefully orient the competition at the solution of tasks in connection with stepping up scientific-technical progress. Science and technology have become a most decisive performance and development factor in the economic reproduction process. As a trade union, we therefore support the following: Our scientists, research and development experts, engineers, builders and technologists should work under good conditions and with a correct understanding of the significance of their work for the progress of the socialist society; they should solve their tasks and produce ideas, show preparedness to run risks and demonstrate creativity. This calls particularly for a critical view of one's own achievements and for the readiness to apply knowledge and ability in such a way that the procedures and technologies involving significant economic products will be used on a large scale to permit top achievements in a short time which will be used wisely and economically.

We need more top products to increase the GDR's export strength. The solution of foreign trade tasks is of basic significance for our entire national economy. It is clear that anyone who wants to sell something on the world market today at a profit must fulfill the highest quality and cost standards. This calls simultaneously for highly effective procedures and technologies and for the intensified use of microelectronics, robots and computer technology.

The result of all this is clearly that socialist competition must be included more in production preparation fields. In science and development the commitment booklets [pflichthefte] are a good point for orientation if they are aimed at concrete targets according to world standards. No trade unions should tolerate any lagging in this matter but should strive uncompromisingly to overcome mediocre standards.

Socialist teamwork is an advantage of socialism. It demonstrates the effective link between the knowledge and ability of workers, innovators, research experts, constructors and technologists by concentrating their forces on one target. Quite a number of effective forms of socialist teamwork have been created in competition. Among them are single subject collectives, development and implementation collectives, planned innovator activity collectives, cooperation under intensification contracts, complex competition tailored to special issues or products and cooperation at university and industrial complexes. The exploitation of these forms of community work promoted the achievement of good scientific-technical results and helped put them into production within a short time. We are in favor of continuing along this way with even more energy.

Intensified concentration of creative initiative in socialist competition on high scientific-technical results calls for even more effective material and moral stimulation. Under the respective government regulations and in agreement with the trade unions, additional wage increases in connection with special tasks for university and professional school cadres are being expanded.

Colleagues, we have already discussed the changes which have taken place in our economic situation. One of the problems is raw materials and energy. Obtaining some raw materials is becoming constantly more difficult and expensive. The production of our own raw materials is also becoming increasingly expensive. We must, therefore, reckon with completely different production costs than before whether we want to or not. We must thus economize material and energy in a completely different way than before -- in a much more energetic and effective way. It is more impornant than ever to more accurately weigh and consider how to use material and energy, and there is the particular task of achieving more from the raw materials available to us through more efficient refining. Regarding this economically very important matter, purposeful action according to plan is necessary, therefore, we want all trade union executive boards and leaders to exert their influence on developing guidelines for refining.

Increased quality, reliability and durability of products contribute to the solution of the material and energy economic problem which is so important for us. Competition initiatives such as "my hand for my product," work with personal quality programs, and the struggle for the quality standard "Q" and for the decrease of waste, unnecessary reworking, and work under guarantee are, therefore, of great importance. In the overall concept of tasks to be mastered in the eighties, it appears particularly necessary to link production increase efforts even closer with the fight against production costs. Every mark saved in production yields a better relationship between costs and results.

Yes, dear colleagues, a cost reduction of even 1 pfennig per M100 of industrial goods production in industry would amount to a profit of M24 million -- a gain for the national income. To achieve competition results in the saving of material, energy and costs, the cost account book and accounts rendered on that basis have demonstrated their value. That pertains to production as well as to the preproduction areas. In this way we achieve accurate accounting at every job as well as through controls of individual work results with regard to costs.

The Zwickau machine plant, the Magdeburg Ernst Thaelmann heavy machinery plant, the Halberstadt agricultural machine plant, the Modesta Johanngeorgenstadt plant and others have achieved good results in this field. Many more collectives ought to make use of this experience. We expect, therefore, the trade union executive boards and trade managements in plants to use cost account books more than before in their efforts to eliminate differences in work performance levels.

Colleagues, in most of this year's competition decisions, rationalization holds a central position. The use of new efficiency principles and progressive technologies, such as industrial robot technology, is being increasingly emphasized in the entire field of main and secondary processes. In accordance with the suggestions of Comrade Erich Honecker at the Ninth FDGB Congress, the trade unions have helped turn the individual departments which develop rationalization means into centers for implementing the ideas of innovators and promoting scientific-technical progress. Since demands regarding the individual development of rationalization means have grown considerably in the meantime, we will continue to work persistently in this direction. It is necessary to strengthen the microelectronic basis through the development of rationalization means and to produce by 1985 most of the industrial robots needed in these departments ourselves.

The workers of the basic Schwedt petrochemical combine have demonstrated how a long-term rationalization strategy can be pur osefully and successfully implemented. Under the motto "Fewer People, More Production" they have developed an initiative which provides a good example for all combines and plants in our country of how progress can be achieved in this important economic field and how existing work capacity can be better exploited. In line with the October 1981 decisions of the GDR Council of Ministers and with the help of trade unions, we must especially promote in all industrial fields and bezirkes the example of the best performers by spreading the Schwedt initiative as an impetus to further develop performance. In connection with factory guidelines regarding the release and reassignment of workers we feel it is necessary to create guidelines for local work. These guidelines will fall under the responsibility of labor offices in coordination with FDGB bezirk and kreis executive boards.

A key problem is the better utilization of the capital equipment, especially of the most modern machines and installations, through a developed shiftwork. If our capital equipment were utilized only 10 minutes longer a day, this would amount to an extra industrial goods production worth M4.5 billion a year, and nobody should come and say that these 10 minutes cannot be had. This reckoning, after all, demonstrates to us quite impressively how great are the reserves which can be opened just through improved shift utilization. Our efforts are aimed at organizing the conditions of the shiftworkers so as to be in keeping with the high performance shown daily by these colleagues, male and female.

The shiftworkers thereby manifest a high level of realization of the requirements of the economic and social development. We decidedly advocate the view that society properly recognize and appreciate this. Wherever technology and work organization are changed in our country, the improvement in the working people's working and living conditions is one of the foremost concerns. This, colleagues, must interest all those who work on the continuation of socialist rationalization; in particular, this applies to our own organization.

Rationalization never leads automatically to socially advantageous solutions. Under capitalism it is linked with mass unemployment. Microelectronics causes an increase in labor productivity and reduces jobs. Under capitalist conditions this places serious social burdens on the working people. We, too, utilize microelectronics, and we propose to utilize it much more to increase labor productivity rapidly, to develop new technologies and save labor. Yet, nobody in our country fears losing his job because of it. Everybody knows that he is needed. In keeping with his qualifications he will, if necessary, change jobs without this having any negative effects on his social situation.

In our country, too, we must always keep in mind that fundamental technical, technological and organizational changes deeply affect the work and life of the working people. This is why we deem it of paramount importance to examine exactly and take into account the proposals, ideas and suggestions of the working people even in the project planning stage of the rationalization solutions. The 10th FDGB Congress should instruct the National Executive Committee to stipulate, jointly with the GDR Council of Ministers, the tasks of the state managers and the trade unions for the cooperation of the working people in socialist rationalization and for the organization of working and living conditions.

Dear colleagues, the innovator movement is and remains an outstanding force of our economic and social progress. It has developed well as an important component part of socialist competition in the period since the Ninth FDGB Congress. During these 5 years the number of innovators increased by more than 240,000. The annual utility of this work during that period increased from M3.7 billion to roughly M4.9 billion. In 1981 every third working man participated in the innovator movement.

The trade unions promote the brain-racking and searching of the innovators and come out against the singularly appealing view that the complicated character of projects involving the latest technology aggravates the participation of the workers and innovators in the solution of these tasks. First and foremost, the whole practice proves the contrary; second, it depends on the state managers, after all, and also on us, how the working people are inspired and enabled to develop new ideas which will profitably affect the scientific-technical solutions. It is especially the collective innovator work which is well suited for fulfilling high-grade tasks for the national economy, wherefore our special attention is due its further development.

The high requirements posed for socialist competition today induce us to emphasize the necessity to wage it in all trade union organizations really in the Leninist spirit. This, colleagues, means above all that socialist competition must be concrete, surveyable and accountable to every participant. It must be organized in keeping with the respectively prevalent conditions, such as they exist in each combine, in each enterprise. This requires close comradely cooperation of the trade union leaderships with the state management.

The political-ideological and organizational activity of the managers -- meaning the plant managements and the combine managements -- for creating the necessary prerequisites for the competition will essentially influence the affectiveness of the plan and the awareness-shaping force of socialist competition.

In the best sense of the word we must, with firmness of principle, persistently and with full attention for the important side of the working and living conditions, insure the practical implementation of the Leninist competition principles such as publicity, comparability of results, the repetition of the best achievements on a mass scale and the material and moral recognition of outstanding achievements. In so doing we will, of course, also experience this or that controversy. If there is a controversy of opinions at times between officials responsible for questions concerning competition, between economic functionaries and trade union leaderships, this can only benefit the waging of competition. You just cannot handle everything the same way, and we are aware that any stop in competition may well impede many a valuable development or even spoil it.

Dear colleagues, the development of socialist competition includes feat comparisons which are necessary by nature, as it were, as well as the exchange of experience. They are and remain the least costly investment, and they have been an effective method for gradually overcoming differences in level between work collectives, enterprises and combines and for generalizing the best experiences and results. It is, first of all, up to the industrial labor unions to further enhance the outcome of organized result comparisons in close cooperation with the ministries and combine directorates. In no case can we afford any comparison of which we must later say that nice as it was, it all has come to naught. In any case comparisons must make clear how and by what method high work results have been achieved. There must not be any performance comparison and exchange of experience whose result fails to stipulate what must concretely be improved. Control over this must be intensified.

Social practice has fully confirmed our view expounded at the Ninth FDGB Congress that socialist competition is supposed to be concentrated on the fulfillment and purposeful overfulfillment of the targets set forth in the annual economic plans including the improvement in the working conditions. This clear statement has further repressed formalism and schematicism, albiet not to the degree required. And yet, surely with the best of intentions, it happens even today that socialist competition gets out of hand through all sorts of concepts and tasks in the most diversified fields of social activities, so that the most important element is inundated, namely, the struggle for the high work result in production preparation and in actual production.

There are colleagues who even justify this and argue to a moaning plant trade union executive board chairman: But, dear colleague, do you perhaps feel that our special activity in the field of sports or education and God knows what, is unworthy of competition and has nothing to do with waging and promoting production? We do not deny at all the existence of many interrelations. But, dear delegates, to say it in no uncertain terms: Competition is not a force-fed goose. Our position is absolutely clear. The concrete competition commitments for fulfillment and purposeful overfulfillment of the plan targets at the same time from the core of the project of the work collectives or struggling for the title of collective of socialist labor.

At the moment 156,000 collectives with 4.7 million working people are participating in the struggle for this honor title. This movement, which we may say today is already rich in tradition, proved to be an important force also in the years after the Ninth FDGB Congress. Many activities, especially under competition, were triggered by the principle of working, learning and living in a socialist manner. We propose to promote this further.

All activities of the trade union group in the social and intellectual-cultural fields, which should never be prescribed in a standardized way for all members, belong in the cultural and education plans. Both the competition commitments as well as the cultural and educational plans form the basis for participation in the struggle for the honor title of Collective of Socialist Labor. Any additional programs and concepts we deem alien to the cause and superfluous.

Thus it is only natural that socialist collectives struggling for the recognition as collectives of exemplary order, discipline and safety and for the honor title of Collective of German-Soviet Friendship, include corresponding competition targets in their competition commitments and in the cultural and educational plans. An isolated double track of commitments equal in nature unnecessarily diverts attention from the essential tasks and is linked with extra paper and time expenditure for the collectives. This is why the congress should instruct the National Executive Committee to hold consultations with the Council of Ministers and the eligible social organizations on how all of this can be still better interlaced and simplified. [applause]

We do understand that everybody would like to have his right. Yet all of us should comprehend the principle: preferably less, but better. What is decisive is the result of the work and not collective moviegoing for the sake of scoring points. [applause]

The FDGB National Executive Committee would not want to impart any universal recipe. All it recommends is this: Let us discuss repeatedly how Lenin's advice for the organization of socialist competition can be implemented even better.

Dear delegates, the great historical feats of the GDR's worker class include its organization, jointly with the working peasants and under the leadership of the SED, of a socialist agriculture which ensures a stable consumer supply of foodstuffs and the supply of industry with agricultural raw materials. The FDGB has actively contributed to this revolutionary process. We always considered agricultural development a matter related to the whole of the national economy.

In 3 weeks from now the 12th Peasants' Congress of the GDR will be held. It certainly cannot be our task to anticipate this congress. What we promise here is that everywhere that we can become active, be it in the people's owned farms, in the cooperatives, in all enterprises and scientific institutions, in the field of the agriculture, foodstuffs and forestry union, we will actively help to fulfill in life the decisions to be taken by this congress. [applause]

Dear collegues, all trade unionist efforts and the well-being of the working people make note that there is always the required knowledge and skill for new tasks in life and in professions or that it is being acquired. Developments have shown that the complicated working tasks connected with socialist rationalization can be solved in the learned profession on the basis of solid qualification and dexterity. The acquistion of special knowledge for the learned profession, however, is inalienable. We support all commitments for learning by the working people which are immediately connected with the working tasks of today and of the future. Nothing works without this educational drive [bildungsvorlauf]. Till 1985 1 million apprentices will receive professional training. They must enjoy our special attention and support for acquiring any professional knowledge and skill which enables them to master science and technology during this decade and even after the year 2000. This is understood correctly where curriculum-oriented production is safeguarded and where apprentices get the opportunity of learning on and working with modern machinery, so as to contact in good time the demanding tasks of the plant's science and technology. At this congress we appreciate the work performed by the teachers, masters, pedagogues and working people of the teaching profession on which much depends so that people can stand the tests of our times. [applause]

In our socialist society young people are being well prepared for the future. The fear of tomorrow is alien to them and we consider it a particularly dreadful expression of the misanthropic capitalist system if millions of young people are deprived over there of the right to work after graduating from school. In our country a foundation stone for conscious learning and working is learned as early as in the polytechnical classes of secondary schools.

Sponsorship relations between working and pioneer as well as FDJ collectives of schools are playing a great part in educating the young generation. In this all possibilities of unionist work should be utilized that might help to further improve and strengthen the educational effectiveness of the polytechnical classes. Who would not take pleasure and pride in looking at the performances of our country's young generation! Promoted by the trade unions and the Socialist Youth League many young female and male workers, apprentices, engineers and scientists together with their senior, experienced colleagues often accomplish exemplary feats in the socialist competition as well as in the professional competition.

Let us list just one figure on performance which at the same time is expressive of the self-development of young people. More than 100,000 young colleagues have been decorated as young activists since the Ninth FDGB Congress. It is one of the great achievements of the party of the workers' class that a generation of young people has grown up in the GDR, young people who stand on the side of socialism and considers its strengthening and defense to be their class obligation. [applause]

Our FDGB has more than 1.5 million young members. This number accounts for almost all young workers and includes apprentices, young scientists and engineers. The trade unions should want to and do want to assist these workers by word and deed in all fields. We view our unionist responsibility in the future as making each trade union organization a school of socialism and communism for the young people. We view the future as one where all our members will make their contribution to the communist education of young people. The more than 40,000 youth brigades constitute a special force in the further shaping of the evolved socialist society and in developing the socialist personality. More than 12,000 new brigades have been established since the Ninth FDGB Congress. Many youth brigades, such as the Hans Kiefer Brigade from The Berlin Underground Constructin Engineering Combine, are genuine trailblazers in the field of innovation under socialist competition and at centers of the workers youth communist education. The youth brigades will continue to enjoy all our support in the future. We will direct our common efforts with the FDJ and the state leaders toward performing qualified work with the youth brigades, providing for their stability and continuity, assigning mobilizing tasks to them, above all from the science and technology plan, and setting up additional collectives. Further substantial changes occurred during the period under review in the working and living conditions of the youth.

We want to give mention to and, above all, appreciation to the passionate promotion of the people's well-being and of peace, by women and girls. We thank you very cordially for this from this rostrum. [applause] Dear colleagues, it is with satisfaction that we note that many women are among the best in socialist competition, that they prove to be qualified innovators and rationalizers, and that at the same time they perform comprehensive work in caring for, rearing and educating children. In our further trade union work we will strive for an even more effective utilization of the important results achieved through the equality of women for the further shaping of the evolved socialist society as well as for women themselves. What do we need to do this? Above all, we need an even more precise approach to all issues related to working women and their role as mothers, which is highly respected by society. The union leaderships should bring increasing influence to bear so that the women's professional as well as political knowledge and abilities will be fully utilized through their employment in the appropriate jobs and through the systematic increase of their share of leading positions as well as of their role in the innovators' movement. We emphasize that in the future great importance will be placed on all issues related to the working and living conditions of women. It must remain a constant concern of trade union representatives to improve the material working conditions of women and girls.

Dear delegates, social security and safety are a solid component of the interests trade unions represent. We are doing everything to further fulfill the corresponding decisions of the 10th party congress. Thus the housing construction program is and remains the crux of our sociopolitical program. From 1971 through late 1981, 1,607,143 apartments were built or modernized. This means that housing conditions for 4.8 million people improved during this period. Supported by their colleagues from all bezirkes, great achievements were made by the Berlin construction workers in further developing our capital commensurate with its significance as the GDR's political, economic and intellectual-cultural center. They deserve our thanks.

Many things have changed in Berlin since the eighth party congress. It was primarily our young people who employed rich initiatives in performing the tasks assigned to them. In our capital today's young generation has gloriously continued the great traditions established in the building of the Sosa Barrage. The trade unions will do everything in the future to ensure that our capital continues to flourish and prosper.

Dear colleagues, in the 1981-85 5-year period, 940,000 apartments are to be made available for approximately 2.8 million citizens, workers and large families as well as young couples. It must be stressed that the great significance of the full realization of the housing program in the eighties is that it is being implemented comprehensively and includes new buildings as well as the modernization and renovation of old housing. It is becoming necessary to do more to restore and modernize existing housing. This holds true for the big cities and bezirk cities as much as it does for smaller communities. In close cooperation with the state organs trade unions are directing their attention to developing housing allocation plans together with the plans of the national economy, and are registering and repairing free housing space faster as well as better utilizing the existing housing supply -- and in this we include the need to prevent housing space from being utilized for other purposes. Wherever this is done it must be stopped. The critical eye of the trade unions is required here. Trade union control must be intensified in this field. The working peoples and enterprises' readiness to contribute to the improvement of housing conditions with their own efforts and means must be promoted by trade union boards and leaderships.

Good results have been achieved in the area of expanding and setting up new facilities for children through the implementation of the housing construction program according to plan. This year alone 25,700 kindergarten places and 12,100 places in day nurseries will be created. We are interested in achieving these objectives according to plan and gradually overcoming differences between the bezirke and kreise in the availability of facilities for children.

Colleagues, our basic line reiterated at the Ninth FDGB Congress, which provides for enhancing the material and cultural living standards of the working people, above all via the earned income, depending performances has proved to be correct. Earned incomes increased, above all, through the broad utilization of productive wages in the form of performance-oriented basic wages and salaries as well as through other important and centrally agreed upon wage-policy measures. We will continue this performance-oriented wage-policy at a higher level on the basis of the decisions made by the Tenth SED Congress. In wage-policy, too, we proceed from the high standards of performance development in the eighties. What matters in this respect is that the stimulating effect of wages on the qualitative factors of economic growth is being enhanced. Our economic strategy makes high demands on the consistent -- and this is what is important -- implementation of the socialist performance principle.

In our trade union work we always have -- together with the working people -- to create the required prerequisites so as to promote great performances and payment commensurate with performance. Any step to be taken in this field must be done together with the working people, because their interests are directly and substantially concerned by the questions of labor and wages.

It is with the active cooperation of working people that in the socialist rationalization, including the scientific labor organization, reserves are being detected and stable foundations created for the development of performance as well as for the consistent implementation of the performance principle. We support the efforts of all those competition and WAO [scientific labor organization] collectives which lend their special attention to the reassessing [aufarbeitung] of qualitative index figures. It is only by this that we obtain the required performance standards which are to form the basis for the stimulation of performances. The crucial point of our economic strategy is the reliable orientation toward a further perfecting of the wage situation, from which we deduce the need for working -- with the help of all trade union boards and leadership -- toward stimulating even more effectively higher results in the fields of research, development and production.

This requires the transition to new and further developed wage and salary systems in the enterprises, which in the future will have to introduce basic wages for the workers and performance-oriented salaries for the university and technical school cadres in connection with socialist rationalization and scientific labor organization, as well as in those enterprises in which productive wages are already effective. This means that the performance-oriented wage policy, based on the long-term rationalization strategy, is to be continued in those enterprises through the utilization of the schwedt experiences, which already have introduced (?basic lines) for the work and performance-oreinted salaries for masters as well as for university and technical school cadres.

The further perfection of forming the wage system is supposed to support and reward the efforts of the working people and work collectives aimed at scoring top achievements in research, technology, at improving labor productivity and the quality of products and making the best of every gram of material, of every work hour at lowest possible costs. Quantity and quality must be treated in all wage systems as an entity so that nobody will get more pay for higher quantity if the quality of the produce has been neglected.

Comrades, it seems to me that it is correct to stress that pay must also be in line with complete and correct exploitation of work time which is fixed in our country because you get your money for that also. [applause] The premium funds are offering many plants an opportunity to show material recognition beyond the stimulating effect of wages for good achievements in the allround fulfillment of plan targets. All those working people and work collectives should have the advantage of the year end bonus who contributed to the fulfillment or overfulfillment of their respective plan target figures with less use of material and financial funds. The year end bonus in connection with the cost account book should create interest in continuous fulfillment of the plan at lowest possible costs and take the quality of performance into consideration.

Dear colleagues, creative initiatives which have become effective in the course of the competition year must be only considered by bonuses to be paid immediately. Our daily trade union practice shows that people like to work better where they feel that constant efforts are being made to improve work and living conditions. Through socialist rationalization work and the application of scientific perceptions as well as accident prevention, better work conditions have been created in the plants under active participation of the working people and according to the plan. In the years 1977-1981, for example, grave and health-endangering work conditions have been eliminated for 190,700 working people in the entire economy.

Due to the improvement of material and work conditions because of thorough observance of accident protection measures by state and social leadership activities, considerable success has been achieved in past years.

Despite all the emphasis on progress it remains an important problem of our trade union work to see to it that necessary attention is being paid every day and everywhere to safety regulations and order at the individual work place, the entire plant and in every production phase. Order and safety are indispensable for man, for avoiding accidents and for achieving the necessary production progress.

What is the situation in accident prevention like? In 1976 some 32.6 work accidents per 1,000 working people had to be reported, this number decreased in 1981 by 28.5 percent. The number of fatal work accident in this period of time was decreased by almost 25 percent.

What is worrying us? Too many work accidents are taking place in repair and maintenance work, manual labor, transport, reloading and storage processes. Our influence on accident protection must be intensified in these fields. Our trade union principle is valid, saying that every accident is one accident too many.

Dear delegates, an important side of our social work is care for the worker. It has an immediate effect on the health of the working people and their preparedness to work. We learn about its importance from the suggestions, indications and the criticism of our members made in the course of trade union elections. They pertain mainly to the improvement and lasting quality of warm meals for all shifts, clean and proper eating rooms as well as strict organization of meal times in order to avoid long delays and waiting times. We share the opinion of many trade union members that the quality of supplies is not only a matter of costs.

The demands of the eighties also result in ideological demands with regard to all supply collectives. Here, too, better quality is demanded. In all supply installations capacities, raw materials and work capacities must be used in such a rational and purposeful way that supply will be effective and good.

Dear colleagues, tasty food is not merely dependent on the use of meat and other material, it is a matter of preparing it in a tasty way. Even a sturdy stomach will rebel in the long run against always the same sauces. [laughter, applause] If the kitchen commission lived up to its responsibility everywhere, this would not happen. It seems to me that we should make a pause here. [laughter]

Dear colleagues, interest representation by the trade unions includes the continuous exertion of influence on the supply of the citzens in the residential districts. This is why the stable consumer supply with goods of fundamental needs in keeping with demands, especially with basic foodstuffs, and the supply with the thousand little things, spare parts and accessories, remains the center of socialist competition of the collectives in the trade sector. The stable consumer supply with consumer goods and foodstuffs is and remains a first-rate political task.

The trade union executive boards and leaderships together with the territorial managements work toward satisfying in high quality the requirements in important services and toward creating a modern network of collection points [of items for repair and so forth] adapted to the local conditions. We think it is necessary that delivery schedules be reduced, that the proportion of late and weekend service hours be extended and that the exchange and leasing services be enhanced. In the interest of the working people we will persistently urge, too, that the quality, punctuality and reliability in the commuter transport for workers and pupils and in passenger transport be enhanced everywhere in the territories. There are still quite a few reserves of that nature left in the territories. People should cease to always use the matter of the diesel fuel as an excuse.

Dear colleagues, health is a great treasure and an elementary requirement of the people. The FDGB advocates comprehensive health protection, good medical and social care. The personnel of the health and social sectors, the doctors and nurses, have performed great feats to this end.

We will continue to attentively help assure that conditions for the protection and promotion of the health of the working people will be well developed. In this connection the trade-union-managed social insurance for workers and white-collar workers has special significance. Following the decisions of the ninth FDGB Congress social insurance developed into an important component part of the unity of socioeconomic policy. All of the voluminous sociopolitical measures decided in the seventies have been fulfilled point by point.

In 1981 expenditures for the social and health care of the insured people came to a per capita average amount of M1,711. In 1977 the amount was M1,420. If in 1971 social insurance spent M100 on benefits for an insured person, the share of the plants and the state in this M70, with the insured people contributing M30 as their own premium. In 1981 the proportion was M76,601: M23.40. This means that the share of the state and the enterprises increased while that of the insured person decreased to his advantage.

The current 5-year plan provides for expenditures for the trade-union-managed social insurance totaling M131 billion. This is an increase by 20 percent compared with the 5-year plan period from 1976 to 1980. This significant increase in expendture, mind you, is necessary for insuring financially the benefits stipulated to date.

During the period between the ninth and 10th FDGB Congresses our social insurance was further improved as a combination of compulsory and voluntary insurance. By the end of 1981 more than 3.8 million working people joined the voluntary supplementary pension insurance. This was the equivalent of 77.5 percent of all people eligible to pay premiums. They thereby bought additional insurance protection for themselves and for their families. In late 1981 already, more than 0.5 million pensioners received supplementary pension annuities, apart from the benefits from compulsory insurance, which tangibly affect their standard of living.

The large funds of the social insurance must be used as effectively as possible on the basis of the legal provisions. The FDGB executive boards and the plant trade union executive boards in coping with this task rely on the active cooperation of the working people, above all of the unpaid functionaries elected by the working people, functionaries who number hundreds of thousands.

The councils and commissioners for social insurance, the members of the trade union commissions for the allotment or cures and the members of the trade union complaints commissions for social insurance affairs always need good support and guidance for their work. This task must not be underrated. After all, it is this well-functioning unpaid work which makes every working man and his family members as well as the veteran workers feel time and again that the social insurance managed by the trade union is there for them and is looking after them.

We may be allowed to make a critical remark at this point in this respect. Despite all efforts in the health care the sickness rate still is too high. What remains necessary is that the trade union executive boards in cooperation with the state organs exert stronger influence on preventive health protection. Every sick person must be given good treatment. Yet by even better, more effective preventive medicine many cases of absenteeism from sickness could be avoided. If it were possible, for example, to reduce the present sickness rate from 6 to 5 percent, our national economy would have about 80,000 workers more daily.

Dear colleagues, the sociopolitical program adopted by the Eighth SED Congress created the prerequisites for the successful development of the trade union recreation service during the past 10 years. In 1981 the FDBG allocated more than 4.6 million trips to its members to its own recreation facilities and those of the enterprises. This figure comprises all vacation trips at home and aboard, trips in cooperation groups and interest circles of the enterprises. It is an old goal of the worker class to enhance the extent of leisure time for man. Even more so socialism has sought this objective.

I ask you, comrades, to pay attention to the following figures, and we will, of course, include Saturdays and Sundays. Since the establishment of our republic the leisure time of the working people has been constantly extended. While in 1949 every working man had 76 days off, the number of work-free days now comes to at least 126. This is the equivalent of 1/3 of our year. As a result of the introduction of the 5-day workweek and the extension of the basic vacation time, the work-free time increased by at least 50 calender days. If privileges resulting from performance and those granted under social criteria are added, the increase in work-free time reaches up to 65 days. At the same time the weekly worktime was reduced from 48 hours to the present 40 to 43 3/4 hours. It is necessary, to be sure, to properly assess this gigantic development in connection with all other socio-political measures.

It is necessary to state also in viewing this development that everything that has been achieved in this respect is based primarily on the continuous increase in labor productivity. On the other hand, by the conditions for the recreation of the working people we promote essential moments of joy in life, of family relations, development of personalities and, last but not least, performance capacity and initiative. The party of the workers class, our socialist state and the trade unions have always taken this interconnection into consideration.

Under each 5-year plan enormous funds have been set aside for the enhancement of the FDBG vacation service. Thus, for instance, 20,000 places were newly created or modernized to FDGB recreation centers since 1971. Added to this must be the inter-hotels, which are not included in this figure. Moreover, there is the rapid development of enterprise recreation facilities. One must say that during the last ten years the enterprise recreation system has developed at an enormous speed. Ever since the decision made by the Politburo of our party's Central Committee on the enterprise recreation system in 1978 the provisions, norms and political principles of the FDGB are applied to the entire field of recreation facilities and to the vacation service of the trade unions and enterprises. This emphasizes the major role played by the trade unions in the field of recreation for the working class in the GDR and also elucidates the democratic nature of the system valid over here.

We can inform the Tenth FDGB Congress that what we had planned in the field of vacation service at the Ninth Congress has been implemented fully. [applause] The number of vacation places has increased and the level of recreation and private accommodation facilities as well as the care for the vacationers has been enhanced according to play through many activities of the vacation-service staff members. In this, special attention was paid to family recreation. During school holidays recreation facilities for families have been expanded, so that, above all, families with school-age children can go on vacation together.

In this, the number of holiday trips for large familes with stays in FDGB and enterprise lodges increased from 11,700 in 1971 to 200,000 at present. Now as before in the distribution of vacations, large families are given priority, along with shift workers and people working under difficult working conditions. The desire for recreation and interesting leisure-time activities has further developed during the past few years. That is only natural. It is above all during the season periods that our facilities do not suffice yet for all our working people who are fond of travelling, with some people overlooking the fact that one can recover well at the Baltic Sea coast also in the spring and fall, sometimes even better than during the hot summer months, because one has somewhat more exercise in the preseason. If this were to be taken into account then we could utilize the lodges even better.

This is why the 10th SED Congress decided to continue the further expansion of the FDGB vacation service also in the new five-year plan period. Thus it is envisaged, dear colleagues, to create new recreation lodges in Heringsdorf, Schwerin-Tippendorf, Templin, Luebsee, Rheinsberg, Friedrichsbrunn, Schiedefeld, Schoeneck, Schillerau and Wernigerode. This will be between 8,500 and 9,000 places in new recration homes. At the same time, existing homes with 1,900 places will be modernized.

It is stipulated for the 5-year period that the total number of trips organized by the vacation service of the trade unions and the enterprises thereby will increase to 4.7 million. And we want to draw the attention of our FDGB bezirk boards that what holds true for the whole of our housing policy also applies to the vacation service: we cannot always create (?something) new; what is important during the next few years is to preserve the existing substance better, so even more colleagues enjoy the pleasures of vacation.

Trade union leaderships in enterprises and trade union groups should always take efforts to ensure that all recreation facilities of the FDGB and, above all, of the enterprises are being utilized fully. One remark with regard to the planning of vacation: There exists a widely-publicized offer in vacation lodges. But, dear colleagues, irrespective of all the activities existing in the vacation centers we must not ignore that the vacationist is supposed to recover the way he prefers. If he wants to walk, then let him walk, but if he wants to sleep, one must not disturb him. [laughter, applause]

Dear Delegates, I do not have anything against sports -- I will revert to them later on, comrades [laughter] -- but we know how some of the heads of our vacation lodges develop the offer. Dear delegates, an important basic concern of the FDGB is a high cultural and educational level for the working class, a manifold intellectual life for its members. In this we take into account the correlations existing between the required economic performance growth and the flourishing of culture, art and a rich intellectual-cultural life. It is in this sense that we concentrate the cultural and educational-political work on the trade union groups. The cultural and educational plans of the collectives have proven to be useful for developing a vivid intellectual-cultural life. Trade union groups, such as the Kaethe Niederkirchner Youth Collective in the Neubrandenburg Nagema Enterprise and many others, with their cultural and educational plans and with their intellectual cultural life, clearly show what matters. It is a creative atmosphere in the collective that matters as well as a considerable enhancement of the cultural and educational level of any individual. In this the work demands and requirements of the members are taken into account and the intellectual-cultural life is being promoted on the basis of voluntary participation.

What matters in the trade union groups is special cultural projects which must be selected with care. They are supposed to contribute to the further strangthening of the collective, to promote the creative approach to work by everyone, to enrich the personality of the individual and also to inspire him to shape his individual leisure time and his family life in a cultural manner. Many good things have been achieved by our cultural affairs commissioners in the groups. They have an outstanding share in this development.

As trade unionists we are required to examine and to positively influence the correlations between scientific-technical progress and the shaping of intellectual-cultural leisure time. This also entails new tasks for our houses of culture and libraries for the popular artistic work directed by us and for the organization of the enterprise festivals. The annually organized enterprise festivals are a living proof of the working class' employees and all working people's cultural creativeness. They are feasts of socialist culture which are truly deeply rooted in the people. They are the mirror of a rich cultural everyday life which is influences to a substantial degree by our trade unions.

Dear delegates, the principles, objectives and tasks of our trade unionist cultural work can be implemented only to the degree to which the culture and art workers of the GDR are making their contribution in television, radio, movies and theaters as well as in museums and all other cultural institutions. What we need is a culture and art which is based on the profound internal links with our reality and its humanism and optimism of life.

It is a culture and art which consistently sides with peace and socialism and in which the class struggles of our time directs its weapons offensively and effectively against imperialism, aggression and reaction, above all against anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. It is a culture and art which at the same time educates and cultivates, preserves and builds, coins socialists convictions and communist ideals, inspires the creativeness of men and also creates pleasure and enjoyment.

In preparation of our congress the presidium of the National Executive Committee has held interesting discussions with the writers' association and the association of graphic artists on this set of topics, which certainly encompases a wide field. Also from the rostrum of our 10th congress we want to express our appreciation to our cultural and artistic workers, who with their performances are enriching our socialist national culture and are continuing the humanistic and revolutionary heritage. They are our good companions. [applause]

Our trade union federation always has been and will remain a promoter for the work of writers in all fields through a partnership that is based on mutual respect. It demands responsibility of the partner, but also places confidence in him -- a partnership to which prejudice and intolerance is alien. The number of work collectives in which art discussions are held increases to the same degree as does the number of artists who constantly establish and maintain contacts with work collectives. More than ever before we need this living alliance and partnership relation, which is based on mutual trust and understanding. In the report on our party's Central Committee Comrade Honecker stressed at the 10th party congress: The core problem of artistic progress is and remains the presentation of the working class as the leading social force. Our socialist (?realistic) art, he went on to say, gives way to the artistic presentation of the historical experiences of the world-wide class struggle between socialism and imperialism. This includes the everyday struggle of the work collectives in material production as well as in the active cooperation for the shaping of social life, of socialist national defense, of family life and of all other fields.

In the face of our expectations and views, dear colleagues, this was spoken from the bottom of our hearts. Our -- say -- trade union heart beats for art and is opened widely to it. What we want is that all artists and writers clearly recognize their decisive sphere of activity and work, of which Comrade Erich Honecker was speaking, and that they are successful in it.

In a few weeks from now the 19th Workers' Festival will be opened in Neubrandenburg Bezirk where it will become visible once again as to what degree all talents of the people can develop freely, perfect themselves and achieve great accomplishments. Professional and people's artists present the workers' festival as a successful balance-sheet and a inspiring impulse for the further flourishing of our socialist national culture. It is a festival that manifests in a vivid and thrilling way the unity existing between art and people as well as the basic conformity between the working class and artists in our society. It is in this spirit that the trade unions will take preparations for the 20th Workers' Festival to be held in Gera Bezirk in 1984 and -- as we are already far advanced -- the 21st festival in Magdeburg Bezirk.

Dear delegates, physical culture and sports already hold a firm place in the life of many trade unionists who follow with enthusiasm the successes of our female and male athletes and are happy about victories and medals. What we achieved in sports is outstanding. Though one cannot always be victorious, it may be allowed to say here that sometimes we wish there would be more fighting spirit if we think, for example, of the latest world championship in handball or of one or the other soccer games in our country. [applause]

With a wider and more differentiated offer in sports, many male and female colleagues in plants, housing areas and recreation centers have been animated to take up sports activities themselves. In 1981 more than 4 million working people took part in various activities of the common sports' program of the German Gymnastic and Sports League [DTSB], the FDGB and the FDJ. More and more of our members have found that sports' activities and tourism are fun and a valuable gain for the good health of man. We consider this the most important achievement of our work.

The 1983 convocation of the Seventh Gymnastics and Sports Festival in Leipzig has had a great echo in our country. The FDGB will help to make the days of the sports' festival in Leipzig a peak in the development of socialist physical culture and sport. In the meaning of the common sports' program we will cooperate particularly in preparing for the sports' festival with the DTSB and the FDJ to further develop the mass character of physical culture and sport. This calls first for winning over more working people for regular sports activities. In this connection everybody should have the opportunity of doing what he likes to do and what will bring pleasure and recreation.

Dear colleagues, the relationship of the FDGB and the socialist state are characterized by the class nature of our state power. Cooperation with the government and its organs has developed well on both sides. What we have introduced in the cooperation from the working peoples' point of view regarding our trade union considerations and suggestions, has always found understanding by the GDR Council of Ministers which has always been an active partner.

The further development of our worker-peasant state, of the socialist state, is mainly taking place through the perfection of socialist democracy. As regards participation of the working people in the planning and management of the economy and the state and the purposeful organization and qualification of settling common matters, our trade union organizations have achieved much in all fields of life within the period of the progress report. Wide and far-reaching possibilities of our socialist democracy are expressed just in the various norms of trade union work which has its firm basis in the plant. This alone demonstrates that our democracy is absolutely superior to conditions in the exploitative society.

What role can really be played by trade union organizations in capitalist countries or in the capitalist world where the working life of man is going on day by day? They are mostly isolated from exerting real influence on plant decisions which are significant for the working people. There are countries in the capitalist world where trade unions are not permitted to pursue political activities in plants according to the laws of these states. This emanates from the system of capitalist exploitation and its demand for predominance.

Dear colleague, I think that you can say correctly that in talking about our socialist democracy, we can ask a question in return and stress that the trade unions in capitalist countries can talk much, but they have nothing to say. That is true. [applause]

I think that this has an effect on the organization of trade unions in capitalist countries. In the United States some 20 percent of the working people are organized in trade unions. The situation is not much better in other capitalist countries.

Our daily trade union work in the enterprise, the meetings of members, the plan discussions, the common working out of competition decisions, the control by workers regarding basic problems of performance development, the forming of living and working conditions as well as many more things -- also this represents our socialist democracy. Our democracy is meeting us in a most direct and basic way through suggestions, advice and also criticism of the working people. But trade union functionaries do not always view it from this basic position. The great discussion on the occasion of our trade union elections has not shown only good things with regard to this point which does not concern us only.

It must be pointed out at this congress also that you must pay attention to the workers, carefully consider their suggestions, advice or criticism and always give the word of the worker authority -- that must be and must remain a main subject of trade union activity. [applause]

Our socialist democracy is a pretentious matter. The trade unions must do their job in all situations with regard to the many tasks of the working people's participation in planning and management, they must do an accurate job. This pertains also to the enterprise collective labor contract which has been annually concluded in our country since 1950. Its working out and the conscientious report on its implementation given to the working people clearly demonstrate an important side of socialist democracy.

This statement alone, however, does not do justice to the enterprise collective labor contract. A critical word is called for with regard to those who reject the contract's importance as a basic document of the enterprise collective, or who water down its text through repetitions and continuations year in and year out in such a way that this documents' clarity and understandability -- and thus its effectiveness -- is deteriorating. As regards the regularity of progress reports and particularly their contents, we believe that all enterprises still must learn something in this respect.

Dear colleagues, who is supposed to change it? This is our most personal matter. Nothing may become routine work here. No, we have to use our strength, as one says, so that the democratic process in our plants will work well everywhere to the common benefit. In past years the FDGB has actively used its constitutional right to cooperate in the further forming and implementation of the socialist legal system. In this way the trade unions have made a decisive contribution to the working out of the social insurance system, the accident prevention regulations, as well as to the law and regulation for extending the rights of social courts. They worked, among other things, on the contracts law and the decree on state-owned combines, combine plants and state-owned enterprises.

For more than 4 years we have successfully implemented our labor code which we adopted at the ninth congress here in this hall. Our Magna Carta, which has been promoted by the People's Chamber to become a law, is passing its test in daily life. We can say that most managers in combines and plants are aware of their responsibility regarding the implementation of the labor code and that they live up to it. Yet we sometimes find managers and also trade union functionaries who either have insufficient knowledge of pertinent rules of law, or who believe they can ignore the rules of law in this or that case. We can tolerate that as little as a formal and bureaucratic way of work which curtails cooperation and codetermination of rights of the working people and their trade unions.

We demand strongly that the legal possibilities of the labor code be persistently exploited for the improvement of order, security and discipline. The labor code offers sufficient possibilities with regard to all problems. If somebody tells me that we have adopted a labor code which actually could be valid only in the year 2000 in communism, I must tell him that he has not correctly understood the hour of our time. The labor code fits exactly in our developed socialist society. [applause]

The conflict commissions have earned great merits in implementing the labor code. Together with the legal commissions of the trade unions they have contributed to increasing the legal knowledge of managers and the working people, and with their enlightenment work they have helped to avoid conflicts. Since the conflict commissions were set up 30 years ago upon suggestion of the trade unions, we have used much energy for their training, support and advice. Today more than 92 percent of all work conflicts are being finally decided by courts consisting of laymen.

Supported by the confidence of their work collectives the members of these commissions effectively implement socialist democracy in jurisdiction. The conflict commissions of about 32,000 members which have been newly elected some weeks ago, will be supported in their further work by the new bill about social courts and by a decision of the National Executive Committee Presidium with regard to training and schooling. The extension of the rights of conflict commissions will clearly make their advice more effective. If the connection between state organs and citizens has become closer and more lively, it was very much due to the activity of the People's Chamber deputies and the local peoples representations.

We are satisfied to say that the FDGB is represented in the GDR People's Chamber by the second largest faction. The regular appearance of our deputies in front of their voters, in work collectives and plants as well as their activity in connection with the National Front committees helped to explain the basic problems of the policy of our state to the citizens and to create new initiatives. This also, and above all, applies to the field of territorial rationalization.

Today it is a truism prevalent in the experience of millions of people: The strong socialist state power is the prerequisite and the basis of our progress. By everything they are doing the trade unions cooperate in the promotion of the socialist state awareness and civic deportment of the citizens. The virtues which characterize this civic deportment, last but not least, includes revolutionary vigilance. [applause]

Dear colleagues, we will not allow anyone to touch our state. This was so, and this remains so. And in that respect there are no compromises as far as we class-aware trade union members are concerned. [applause] In view of the international situation which has been enormously intensified, above all by NATO and U.S. imperialism, and in view of the growth of the responsibility of our class organization for the secure protection of socialism and peace along with the further organization of the developed socialist society, the FDGB once again avers that the defense of the socialist fatherland was, is and remains the class duty of all trade union members. [applause]

Dear colleagues, we will not be pushed into the position which simply ignores the aggressive character of imperialism and which derives from the so very self-made, slanted picture of the world, the argument that weapons and armed service could be waived in the existing situation. This, dear colleagues, would be a concession to imperialism which would only whet its urge for aggression; there will not be any such thing for us. [applause]

With regard to the defense of the achievements of our worker-peasant state, the safeguarding of peace and the happy future of our people, we advocate the view that we must have armed forces which are ready and able at all times to effectively defend, in the alliance with the Soviet Army and the other armies of the Warsaw Pact, all plots against socialism and peace. [applause]

We abide by the saying that the lasting existence and value of a revolution must always be measured by its capability of defending itself. This is why the FDGB has contributed toward the socialist defense education of the worker class and of all working people, and in this manner we meet in our work the requirement of well preparing the young working people for their honorable service in our army, jointly with the FDJ and the GST [Society for Sport and Technology].

In the work militia of the worker class, in the formations of civil defence and as reservists with a military service record, tens of thousands of colleagues, male and female, make a socially valuable and respected contribution toward home defense.

Our executive boards and leaderships are allied in close, friendly relations with the units of the armed forces. In the future, too, we will do everything in our power, keeping with the agreement between the FDGB National Executive Committee and the Ministry of National Defense, to develop the defence readiness and capability of our members through our political-ideological work.

We cultivate good cooperation with our army, with the organs for the protection and security of our state. We thank them for the great feats they have performed for the protection of our socialist homeland, for safeguarding peace. [applause]

Dear delegates, the 1981-82 trade union elections with their more than 400,000 meetings convincingly confirmed that the prestige and authority of our class organization have grown. The contacts between the trade union leadership and executive boards and the members have become closer. Internal trade union democracy and unpaid work were further developed. All this forms the basis for the finding that our organization has strengthened its political, ideological and organizational unity and that it has considerably gained in fighting potential during the report period. This is also reflected by the fact that the number of our members increased by 749,964 between the ninth and 10th FDGR Congresses. Today the FDGB unites 9.1 million members in more than 46,000 basic organizations. This is the equivalent of 97.2 percent of all workers, white collar workers, and members of the socialist intelligentsia of our republic.

We are quite gratified at being able to state here that the more than 4.6 million female FDGB members share considerably in the successful development of our class organization. During the past 5 years alone their membership figure increased by more than 0.5 million. Thus, 51.5 percent of our members are women now; yes, indeed, the female part of our FDGB has made itself strongly manifest, and this constitutes a gain for all of us. [applause]

It is also highly significant that 2.3 million class-conscious trade union members from the basic organization today perform an unpaid electoral function. We thereby have a strong and experienced trade union aktiv which by its politically engaged stance essentially determines the fighting potential of our organization above all in the basic organizations. Most of the 53,553 trade union groups have politically consolidated, and many social activities have their origin and their basis in them. This poses new requirements for an active life of trade union members, a life full of content. What forms the crux of the matter in this respect is the manner in which we always get through to all members by means of a mass-adapted work style on the part of the executive boards and leaderships and persuade them to participate in the solution of the tasks ahead of us.

Comrade Honecker said at the 10th SED Congress that millions of working people directly share in the management and planning of the social processes through the trade unions as the most comprehensive mass organization of the worker class, the organization of owners of the means of production. Management and planning are basic questions of power. But constantly better exercising power requires a class-characteristic political judgment, good knowledge about the inevitabilities of social development and which emanates long term demands. This is why our trade union responsibility dictates that we persistently cooperate in familiarizing all working people with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and with SED policy meaning in promoting their socialist awareness.

The political-ideological work forms the center of our overall trade union work. It exerts influence on the findings, progress and opinion-forming of millions, but especially of trade union members without party affiliation, and it paves the road toward the solution of the tasks. Whatever issue of trade union representation interest we may pick out, whatever question the shop steward or the group functionary must answer, they are always in some way connected with big politics. There is no aspect nor any task in the trade unions everyday life which could be mastered without politics or ideology, as it were. Political-ideological work, therefore, is the matter concerning every leadership, every executive board and every functionary. As life itself shows that our political-ideological work today is confronted with greater requirements than ever before.

In this connection we can always proceed from the good experiences our working people themselves have gained with the policy of the main task since the 8th SED Congress. And if we talk with the members about our economic strategy -- which continues to be a commandment -- then it is always necessary to insure that the economic problems in their assessment will not become independent problems per se, because in our country nothing is done for its own sake; everything occurs in relation to the essential matters of the economy and the safeguarding of peace.

This is in keeping with what socialism means. This interconnection of things must always remain preserved in our political-ideological work and in the discussion of economic questions no matter how complicated they are.

The realistic, comprehensive representation of the values and advantages of socialism is of fundamental significance for the further enhancement of socialist awareness. This applies to our principle that good work must be profitable for both the society and the individual, just as it applies to the principles of the unity of socialism and peace, socialism and human dignity, socialism and democracy and socialism and a life full of meaning. The greatest demands on political-ideological work to a special degree result from the enormous intensification of the class controversy between imperialism and socialism. NATO arms buildup and imperialist confrontation policy are accompanied by a large-scale anticommunist crusade. For this purpose imperialism mobilizes its whole arsenal and does not waive any method for confusing human minds in order to fix its goals and thereby control them. This requires constant high-level political-ideological fighting readiness.

And, dear colleagues, whether bluntly or subtly, whether in the hobnailed boots of the policy of strength or in the slippers of so-called improvers of socialism, no matter in what guise the apostles of the bourgeoisie appear, we trade union members will not leave any leeway to the enemies of socialism in the struggle of ideas. There is no such thing as a truce in this struggle. [applause]

The trade union membership meetings are of great value for the treatment and implementation of all tasks in awareness and from a solid class position. It is especially in these important forums of trade union work that weighty developments occur for shaping political opinion and will. There the members discuss and decide the tasks of the collective and the best solutions. The membership meeting is the basis of many proposals. In short: It is the most important element of internal trade union life. Daily trade union work shows time and again that we justly characterized it at the Ninth FDGB Congress as the basis, the pulsebeat and the conscience of our trade union activities.

Good headway has been scored in the important points. The meetings are held with greater regularity -- and I might say at this point that it would be good if this were even more outside of working hours. Second, by their content and procedure they have become more interesting. Each month our shop stewards carry out the membership meetings in roughly 90 percent of the trade union groups in which 85 percent of the members participate. This is a noteworthy result.

And yet, considering the significance of the trade union membership meeting any self-complacency is out of place. It is important to us that the regularity of the meetings is insured and as high a level of participation in the meetings as possible is achieved. Besides, the expectations of our members with respect to the contents of the meetings have developed. From this follows for trade union leadership work that the preparation, implementation and analysis of the trade union membership meetings be given even more attention. The regular analysis of the contents and course of the membership meetings must entail conclusions for the further work. This equally applies to the full assembly of shop stewards in all those basic organizations in which a central membership meeting is not possible.

In that respect, too, a positive development has occurred. The decisions adopted in the full assemblies have gained in political content, and their effect on the tasks to be solved in the basic organizations has grown. This is, above all, a merit due the shop stewards. We can state that the full assemblies of shop stewards during the trade union elections mostly were in keeping with the character and goal of this forum. This was also shown again in the last few days during the revision of the decisions on competition.

Dear colleagues, in our political-ideological work the schools of socialist labor assume a solid place. They have developed into a solid form of political education, especially for trade union members without party affiliation. Practice time and again has confirmed the political value of the schools. The interest with which they meet in the work collectives, last but not least, becomes evident by the fact that about 1 million new participants were recruited since the ninth congress. Today we have about 162,000 schools of socialist labor in whose discussions about 3.2 million colleagues participate. In combination with the explanation of the decisions of the party of the worker class, Marxist-Leninist basic knowledge is imparted here realistically and in relation to the respective enterprise. It is very much in line with the requirements of the working people to systematically educate themselves politically, economically and ideologically and to obtain information about and familiarity with social and plant developments.

Often the schools inspired personal and collective competition commitments, supported the generalization of important experiences and deepened the political motivation and readiness for performance and initiative. It is above all the discussion leaders who contriubted a major share to the results attained by the schools of socialist labor. Just a few weeks ago the FDGB National Executive Committee paid tribute to their work at a central exchange of experiences in Halle. From this rostrum we would like to express gratitude for and recognition of the valuable work done by all propagandists of the schools of socialist labor. [applause]

Dear colleagues, it is a first-rate task of our indoctrination and training activity as a whole to impart to the unpaid functionaries of our organization, which by now number 2.3 million, the tools for their daily work. It essentially contributes toward the enhancement of the political fighting potential of the trade union basic organizations. We never forget this: What the FDGB is becomes apparent to the trade union member first of all by the functionary with whom he is dealing at his job. Talking about trade union fighting potential means to always keep him and his realm of activity in sight. Hence, it is of decisive importance indeed how we manage to equip the unpaid functionaries, and especially the trade union shop stewards, for their tasks in as all-round a way as possible. A great deal has been done in that respect. Progress is clearly demonstrated in the way in which functionaries have gained in energy and sureness on the basis of well-founded knowledge, and with respect to debates on inadequacies and shortcomings.

The political discussion with the members is being conducted on their own initiative, and they react more quickly to topical events. These are good results of our training and indoctrination work. The Criteria for judging its quality is the political-ideological content, the ideological depth and, as a very significant element of effectiveness, the closeness to life of what is being imparted.

All experience dictates that legal affairs propaganda be intensified. Knowledge about the decisions on the labor and innovator laws, wage policy, about the method of trade union activity and especially about questions concerning organizational policy and about territorial and enterprise problems form the wealth of knowledge which a trade union functionary must possess if he wishes to be taken seriously. The activities of the FDGB kreis executive boards and also, to a greater degree, those of the industrial labor unions and unions must be especially oriented toward supporting the basic organizations headed by unpaid personnel in the training of functionaries.

Proceeding from the mandate of the Ninth FDGB Congress to enhance the level of training and post-graduate training of the cadres, we may state today that during the past few years, tens of thousands of trade union functionaries received a solid Marxist-Leninist training and postgraduate training that had been closely linked to practical life. The Fritz Heckert Trade Union College worked successfully.

Since the ninth congress 1,282 trade union functionaries obtained college degrees as graduate sociologists. What must be stressed is the fact that we managed through the correspondence-course training for women to prepare many young female colleagues for a responsible activity in our class organization. In the service of anti-imperialist solidarity of the FDGB the college helped in the training of trade union functionaries from the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. With its research work it supported the work of our trade unions and made a contribution of its own toward the enrichment of social science.

In this connection we pay special tribute to its work on preparing the publication of the history of the FDGB, in annual training courses since 1976, more than 3,000 functionaries have been trained at the central schools of the FDGB National Executive Committee and at classes it has given elsewhere. At the bezirk trade union schools and in classes they sponsor nearly 25,000 functionaries have taken a 3-month basic training course.

The National Executive Committee further improved the possibilities for the postgraduate training of cadres who work in the FDGB kreis executive boards and as functionaries of the industrial labor unions and trade unions. More than 10,000 participants attended such training courses offered by enterprise trade unions and at special FDGB schools. Our organization will direct its full attention at the training and postgraduate training of cadres in the future as well.

Dear colleagues, our executive boards and leaderships made progress in the development of their work style. This is decisive for firm contacts with the members and for the development of an active trade union membership. This flourishes wherever the principles of internal trade union democracy are applied and the fundamental organizational principle of democratic centralism is consistently observed and put into practice; This is shown by the amount and the quality of participation of the members in the democratic preparation of the decisions, as well as by the exactitude and consistency with which the decisions are implemented.

Here and there we sometimes encounter an improper tolerance out of which concessions are made to those who have little regard for what they themselves have undertaken to do. We do not consider this to be a minor failing, because wherever this happens internal trade union democracy suffers harm. Its full functioning is inconceivable without discipline which is binding on all and which insures the implementation of the decisions and thus guarantees unity of will and deed in the fulfillment of the tasks collectively mapped out. To this end the kreis, city, and bezirk executive boards of the FDGB and the kreis, bezrik and central executive boards of the industrial labor unions and unions are extending politically more effective guidance and attaining a high level of collectivity and compliance regarding personal responsibility.

What is the criterion for judging all trade union leadership work?

It is primarily knowing how to ensure that the executive boards, leaderships and each trade union functionary will always guarantee the contacts with the members and, in the case of leadership decisions, will proceed from the objective analysis of the situation in the respective organizational area. Only then, collegaues, will it be possible to grasp problems and questions in good time and to immediately counteract impeding phenomena in the life of the basic organization such as red tape, heartlessness, disregard of proposals and so forth. Thus the leadership must be very familiar with the feelings and opinions of the members and with the reasons for progress as well as delay. Only then will we be able to line up the forces and means appropriately in the interests of our common goals and make them duly effective.

In judging leadership activity, furthermore we must examine the way in which creative initiatives and new activities in all trade union groups and basic organizations are stimulated, promoted and made binding so as to bring about changes in social life along the lines of the 10th SED Congress decisions and of our class organization. Finally, leadership work must be judged by the degree to which functionaires know how to develop a creative, open and critical and self-critical climate which will stimulate each trade union member to participate in trade union life and to advance ideas and concepts of his own concerning all questions raised by work and life.

Many new factors emerge for us from the significant role of the combines in the implementation of our economic strategy for the eighties and from the resulting FDGB membership structure in the member enterprises of combines. It is important to adapt the organizational and leadership structure of the trade unions to the new conditions. The decisive criterion for fulfilling this requirement is the inclusion of working people in the management and planning of the combines through their active cooperation in the trade union basic organizations in the enterprises. In addition trade union organs at the managerial level of the combines must fully live up to their responsibilities toward the director general, as outlined in the Constitution and the Labor Code.

The National Executive Committee, the Presidium and the Secretariat dealt on several occasions with questions concerning trade union activities in the combines and adopted decisions in this respect. As organs of advice, coordination and the exchange of experience at the managerial level of the combines, the collectives of the plant trade union executive board chairmen have done valuable work. It is necessary to further develop their activities.

Trade union aktivs will be set up as additional organs of representation by the trade unions in the combines. They will discuss and decide the fundamental tasks of trade union activities at the combine, and will exercise control over how the achieved stipulations are implemented. Also the combine director general will deliver his progress report to the trade union aktiv. The trade union aktivs and the collectives of the chairmen of plant trade union executive boards have the right of decision on questions pertaining to the combine and on questions resulting from their mission as the pertinent trade union organs vis-a-vis the director general, as per the Labor Code.

We want to stress that the perfection of trade union work in combines is a great challenge for the management activity of executive boards of industry trade unions, and much work must be still performed in this area.

Dear delegates, to be able to function, the FDGB naturally needs a strong financial basis. Our organization is financed through the contributions of its members. We have never considered relations with trade union members, such as the regulation of contribution payments, as formal business relations. Contributions to the trade union allow a financially strong organization to take care of the people in the organization with regard to the common political aims and the basic interests of the workers class.

It is important to realize that in such a way the interests of every trade union member will be handled best. Collecting contributions is an important task of the trade union shop steward who can talk to the members while collecting their contributions, inform them about the aims of the organization and discuss matters with them.

Dear colleagues, we can say that the duty of paying dues has been met and that there is loyalty in this regard. Incoming contributions have been countinously increasing. This also pertains to voluntary solidarity payments from members. The GDR working people firmly believe that class solidarity helps to win. This is expressed by the fact that 96 percent of all trade union members buy a solidarity stamp every month. Compared with membership contributions, since the ninth congress in 1977 solidarity payments from members increased from 30.8 percent to 32.7 percent in 1981. This represents an increase of M50 million last year.

These contributions from the members create the basis for the FDGB's extensive and varied material solidarity. Between the 9th and the 10th congresses, the FDGB again increased its solidarity payments. In those 5 years a total of M905 million were made available from the central FDGB solidarity fund.

We thank all our colleagues who have expressed their internationalist approach through regular monthly contribution, thus enabling the FDGB to repeatedly undertake quick and effective solidarity actions. [applause]

From 1976 to 1981 FDGB's income from membership contributions increased by a total of 20.7 percent. This development also reflects the confidence of trade union members with regard to their class organization and it shows the successful work of shop stewards. In the period of the progress report, the FDGB spent a total of M4.8 billion for the interests of its members; for their education, their cultural and athletic activities, and their recreation; for care of their children; and for subsidies and awards.

Dear colleagues, as you know, an average of 46 percent of all contributions remain with the plant's trade union management and are thus available to the basic organization. These considerable means permit trade union leaderships and their commissions to apply financial strength within their area of responsibility for the political, spiritual-cultural and social tasks they have to perform in the interests of their members. This is being done well in our state. We only request that expenditures from these funds for so-called social life, I mean festivities and some other matters, should be somewhat curtailed. All trade union leaderships should pay attention to this matter.

It is a constant task to report to the members regularly what has been done and achieved with their contributions. This will further strengthen a sense of duty with regard to contributions. For us this expresses an attitude of awareness regarding class and the organization. Comrades, we must always bear in mind that the colleagues hand their contributions voluntarily to the shop steward.

Dear colleagues, the FDGB's internationalist activities are guided by proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity. That is in accordance with the traditions of the German workers class and its trade union movement. The FDGB members agree that these binding principles must be strongly put into action today regarding the peace forces' approach to the imperialist arms race. From this standpoint we are dealing with the tasks of strengthening and developing the alliance of the three revolutionary mainstreams of our time. The socialist world system, the workers movement in capitalist countries and the national liberation movement.

At our 10th congress we are again stressing the preparedness to establish a common front for peace, detente and disarmament together with all trade unions which are differently oriented and organized. We believe it is necessary and possible in the interests of the working people to eliminate all that separates us so as to put the united strength of trade unions into the balance of peace. Leading trade union representatives from 48 trade union organizations in 28 European states discussed last November at the Fourth European Trade Union Conference in Geneva the effects of technology on working conditions and workers. It turned out that this problem of trade union representation is also inseparable from every human activity and from peace. The discussion demonstrated that no trade union can ignore this connection. The fight for social security includes the banning of the dangers of nuclear annihilation and the taking of concrete steps on the way toward disarmament. This conference demands, therefore, that a European conference be called immediately to discuss measures to create confidence and security and to discuss disarmament. This would be considerable progress with regard to safeguarding peace, and it should remain our common cause.

A center point of the FDGB's international work, of its industrial and other trade unions is comprehensive concern for and purposeful development of close and fruitful relations with fraternal socialist trade unions. This is based on the realization that the socialist community is the main force of social progress and the stronghold of solidarity, and paves the way for humanity. Many important steps in the development of our class organization are directly connected with the ideas of indestructible friendship and fraternal ties with the country of Lenin. Our friendship today is permanent and indestructible. The FDGB has contributed to this with its work. This, dear colleagues, will always be the case. [applause]

The Soviet trade unions have great experience in building the socialist society. That was again documented impressively by the recent 17th USSR trade union congress. It reported on the significant results achieved by the Soviet working people under CPSU leadership in implementing the tasks set by the 26th party congress. It demonstrated the vitality of the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Dear colleagues, some people, who should actually know better, hold the position that the October Revolution has lost its dynamics. We consider this a serious shortcoming in seeing political developments correctly. In our experience in the pactice of developing socialism, the content of the October Revolution has been an inexhaustible source of ideas for us. [applause] We are loyal to these ideas and we promote them. Certainly this does not create happiness or agreement on the part of the class enemy, but we do not want or need the class enemy to be either. What we want and need is the further progress of our society according to the norms of socialism and despite all difficulties -- that is, progress of the world of socialism. [applause]

This requires the continuous theoretical assimilation of the manifold experiences of the building of socialism and, above all, objective and purposeful work. This also marked the congress of the Soviet trade unions. We congratulate the Soviet working people and their trade unions on their successes. In the future we will continue to further consolidate and comprehensively deepen the fraternal alliance in all fields. With the first country of victorious socialism. [applause] The content and the form of the cooperation between the trade unions of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist fraternal countries are increasingly determined by the requirements of the further strengthening of the socialist community. Also testifying to this were the congresses of our fraternal trade unions in Bulgaria and in the CSSR which took place in the past few weeks.

The various forms of our exchange of experiences provide the best options for utilizing new findings of the fraternal organizations in trade union work, especially with respect to the performance increase of our own national economy. In this respect the exchange of worker collectives and innovators, the development of friendship that has been tested for years and other activities have proved their worth. The relations between enterprise trade union organizations are becoming closer. The number of the meetings between the working people of our countries has grown, especially through the friendship trains. We will continue maintaining these tested practices.

Dear colleagues, we fully understand the national decision made in our eastern neighbor of Poland to defend the people's power and to lead the country out of the long-lasting crisis and out of chaos and disorder. The reaction of the imperialist powers, especially of the United States, and their brazen interference in the internal affairs of Poland prove that what is important to them is the destruction of socialism and the realization of their adventurous peace-threatening plans of world domination. We are most profoundly allied with those forces of People's Poland which are defending the achievements and values of socialism against the activities of counterrevolution, and which are fulfilling their revolutionary duty as the heirs and continuators of the best traditions of the Polish workers and trade union movements. [applause]

Colleagues, we affirm our fraternal attitude toward the people and the trade unions of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. It is extremely impressive how the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea, through sacrificing work are overcoming the consequences of long years of imperialist aggression and colonial oppression. In establishing the bases of a socialist life, they can always count on our help.

The trade union members of the GDR assure the Korean people of their solidarity in their just struggle for lasting and secure peace on the Korean Peninsula, and for the democratic and peaceful unification of the country without foreign interference. They support the demand for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea.

We convey ardent greetings to the working people and trade unions of Socialist Cuba, the island of freedom, the first socialist country on the American Continent. [applause] We firmly side with it in its struggle to defend its national independence and socialist achievements against the threat by U.S. imperialism. We assure the central organization of Cuban trade unions and all fraternal Cuban people of our unrestricted solidarity.

The trade unions of the capitalist countries are today facing extremely complicated tasks. The special interrelationship of the general and the cyclic crises noticeable since the early seventies is most profoundly shaking the capitalist system and bringing devastating consequences for the situation of the workers class. Mass unemployment and double digit inflation, decreasing real wages and the dismantling of social programs bear heavily on the working man. The cost of the inflated arms budgets lead to huge social burdens. It goes without saying that the GDR trade unions will always support in solidarity alliance the struggles of the working people of the capitalist countries against the policy of arms buildup, against the shift of the burdens of the crisis to the workers and white collar workers, and against the attacks on democratic rights and liberties.

For many years we have maintained particularly close relations with the greatest class organization of France, the CGT.

We maintain contacts with all important West and northern European trade union headquarters and important trade unions of other capitalist industrial states. In this connection we are always guided by the idea that the policy of creating a climate of understanding, confidence and cooperation among the trade unions of the world should be continued consistently.

We further endeavor objectively and constructively for the cultivation and development of cooperation, and in our relations with other trade unions we are not guided by what is controversial but by what should ally us. It is undeniable that questions exist, and there are areas where differences of view remain irreconcilable. That cannot be helped, and everybody must live with it.

Today, however, the life of man is indirectly involved. We believe that this issue must not be confused by claiming that certain contradictory concepts are the main thing, thus considerably complicating cooperation in the most important matter of humanity. No trade union organization can try to evade its responsibility for the preservation of peace in this world. We belive that the trade union organizations of Europe and other continents can speak with one voice for peace. To do this the degree of cooperation achieved so far must be preserved, and the role of trade unions in the worldwide peace movement must be further developed and actively fulfilled in the interests of millions of trade union members and of all people.

Dear colleagues, at its 10th congress the FDGB renews its firm support of solidarity with the workers and the peoples of the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. We consider their anti-imperialist struggle for national and social liberation, for the democratization of international economic relations, and against neocolonialism and racism to be a significant element of the revolutionary world process, and we support this struggle.

An outstanding position in this connection is held by our cooperation with the trade unions of those countries which have embarked on the way to building socialism. This has been expressed by the 1981 visit of the FDGB Central Executive Board to the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of Mozambique and the People's Democratic of Yemen. The significant documents signed on the occasion of these visits give a clear orientation with regard to our further cooperation with the trade unions of African and Arab countries. We condemn the racist South African regime which is bloodily suppressing the liberation movement in Namibia and carrying out brutal acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of Mozambique, Zambia and the Seychelles. We will stand in firm solidarity in the future at the side of the workers and peoples of these countries. [applause]

The FDGB has maintained friendly relations for many years with the trade unions of Arab countries. We fully support their devoted fight against imperialism and against the expansionist policy of Israel. We condemn the Camp David agreement and the rapacious annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights by Israel. We strongly demand a just and lasting solution to the Middle East problem, and the implementation of the sovereign rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to build their own independent state.

U.S. imperialism is trampling on rights and morals everywhere. It is organizing a bloody campaign of suppression against the Latin American people's fight for liberty, and yet the people of Nicaragua, in a fight full of sacrifices, have defeated the U.S. rulers of the United States. Now it must daily defend its freshly won freedom and independent against the strangling grip of the American neocolonialists. The people of El Salvador are also rising in revolt against the Washington vassals and are, heroically fighting for the right to be the master of their own house. No terror of murder can keep them from doing this. Our fraternal solidarity is devoted to these people. [applause]

The FDGB emphasizes its solidarity with the fight of the masses and of all forces of solidarity in Central and South America.

The 10th WFTU Congress came to an end a few weeks ago. For the first time a WFTU congress took place outside Europe, namely in Socialist Cuba. More than 800 delegates from 138 countries participated. They represented 269 million workers, employees and members of the intelligentsia organized in trade unions. It was thus the most representative forum in the history of the international trade union movement. The congress through which the FDGB and other progressive forces of the world trade union movement faced the challenges of the eighties assumed clearly antiimperialist positions in the most complicated international situation, appealing passionately to the workers and trade union members of all countries and continents to merge their forces in a great antiwar front.

The content and development of the congress made it a broad platform for the exchange of ideas and the challenge to achieve joint standpoints of trade unions of different orientation and international affiliation to defend the basic interests of the world's working people. The documents adopted provide comprehensive orientation with regard to waging the trade union struggle in the current class struggle.

As a member of the WFTU, the FDGB will support the persistent implementation of the 10th WFTU Congress, and with its work it will support the further strengthening of WFTU authority and its influence on the world trade union movement.

The 10th WFTU Congress was at the same time a great manifestation of workers' solidarity. It became obvious that the basic interests of the working people in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress can be implemented only by the solidarity workers class allied and working in solidarity.

Dear colleagues, dear friends, dear guests, at this 10th congress we were able to present to you the history of the FDGB, the first systematical summary and description of everything we have striven for, affected and achieved in our class organization since its birth in continuation of the best traditions of the German trade union movement. This book is one of truth about our struggles, successes, victories and defeats. Above all, it explains the social role of trade unions in the GDR. In a living way it shows how a trade union organization made up of many millions in the center of Europe lives up to its tasks in the struggle for socialism and in socialism and that it has undergone a deal of development. It mirrors the growth of political maturity of the workers class, reflects the growth of its ability to assume responsibility for the well-being of all the people and to live up to its task as the leading social force in all situations. In this sense, dear colleagues, the FDGB's history is, in our view at the same time a contribution full of facts for discussion on the role of trade unions in socialism. [applause]

We are happy about the publication of the FDGB's history because we proceed from the standpoint that only those who live with the experiences and testimonies of history are in a position to fully grasp what socialism is like and what it means for the people. For us history is always an important step toward preparing our class for active and enthusiastic cooperation in the tasks of the present and the future. Our history convincingly imparts to each trade union member the great strength of our class, its invincible revolutionary spirit and its creativeness which is perceivable everywhere. It represents strength and a spirit and creativeness which in the daily trade union work are being brought to bear purposefully and increasingly effectively for the interests of the working people through our organization under the leadership of the party of the workers class. The history of the FDGB is a hymn to the work of the trade union member who fully endorses the principles of socialism, who is not discouraged by any difficulties, and who prepares himself for the present and future tasks with a straight back and a clear eye. We take pride in our trade union functionaries, who are in close and permanent touch with the members and who help organize progress in the service of socialism, that is the well-being and happiness of the people. They thereby have contributed to writing our history, the FDGB history. [applause]

Dear delgates, great accomplishemnts have been made by our senior colleagues, the veterans of work, through their efforts at their places of work and in society so that our republic could become what it is today. We have a strong trade union organization today, and this would be unthinkable without the work they performed by them. This work is often continued by older people through department trade union headquarters and other organizations. We want to thank them most cordially for this and express our respect and solidarity. [applause]

We consider comprehensive care for the elderly working people and work veterans important concern of trade union activities. Great merits were acquired by the people's solidarity as a mass organization for the care for our elderly citizens and work veterans. On the basis of agreements between the FDGB kreis executive boards and the people's solidarity kreis committees, close cooperation in the area of the well-being of elderly people and work veterans developed -- cooperation which must be strengthened and further developed. Even after having attained retirement age many of the elderly people work veterans do not want to give up productive activities. In cooperation with the state organs, we should enable them to be active whereever possible. In our socialist society everyone who takes pleasure in work and who wants to be active even in old age must be given this opportunity. In this way the relations with the enterprise, the work collective and with the younger working people, which are so important for vitality, are preserved. The experience of the elderly working people and their advice are always welcome. They must receive all the understanding support we can give them in their work in the enterprise.

The National Executive Committee, dear colleagues, wants to inform you that its Presidium has adopted a decision on the presentation of an award which serves the recognition of outstanding merits in the GDR's trade union work. This award will hold first place in the series of awards conferred by our organization. The most profound reason for this presentation of the highest FDGB award is that good trade unionist work constitues an inalienable component of social vigour that advances the cause of socialism. All outstanding feats in this field deserve the highest moral appreciation according to the principle that applies to the entire society: Honor to whom honor is due. [applause]

Dear colleagues, with this 10th FDGB Congress a new period of work begins for all of us. It is being characterized by the struggle of the workers class and all working people for the implementation of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress, for the securing of peace and for the further shaping of the evolved socialist society, and for new successes on the road of the main task consisting in the unity of economic and social policy. Our common will for the future should be: To do our work in such a way that everything that has been achieved will be continued in a deserving way in the forthcoming chapter of our history.

Commensurate with the times we always want to shape our work in a way so that we in no way neglect our obligations toward our and the international workers class. Together we will continue to live up in honor to the revolutionary fighting spirit, which is embodies in our trade unions.

Long live our FDGB! [prolonged applause]

Long live the international workers class, everything for the well-being of the people and peace! [prolonged applause]

HONECKER'S TOAST AT LUNCHEON FOR DKP DELEGATION

AU281348 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Apr 82 p 3

[Toast by Erich Honecker at luncheon for DKP delegation in Schloss Niederschoenhausen on 26 April]

[Text] Dear Comrade Herbert Mies, dear friends of the DKP delegation, dear comrades:

It is a great pleasure for all of us to meet you once again before you return to your home country. I want to take this opportunity to once again show you and all DKP members our high appreciation for your struggle for peace and the social and democratic interests of the working people of your country.

The DKP Enjoys High Respect Among the Entire GDR People

Because of its firm principles and its fighting commitment to the ideals of social progress the DKP enjoys great respect among the workers class, among the GDR people. You have been able to convince yourselves of this in the past few days in your meetings with workers, cooperative peasants, scientists and cultural representatives.

You were able to see with what numerous initiatives and great commitment the GDR working people are working to implement the decisions of the 10th SED Congress. They do so in the full conviction that with their achievements they serve the benefit of the people, strengthen the worker-peasant power on German soil and contribute to securing peace.

The successes which we have achieved in building socialism are as manifold as the tasks which are still ahead of us. We will solve them; for we have the support of the people. Our program is clear and understandable for everyone. It is to ensure the welfare of the people and to secure peace. The firm fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community is a desire, a matter close to the heart of our people. We think that constantly strengthening and deepening it is an important question of securing peace.

During your stay in the GDR you have become convinced that only the worker-peasant power, only socialism is in a position to solve the vital questions of mankind, to fundamentally improve the living conditions of the working people. Equal educational opportunities for all children of the people, a good vocational training for all young people, full employment, stable prices for consumer goods, low rents, relatively cheap rates for services of all kinds, care for mother and child, development of the recreational sector and many other things are an expression of the humanist content of the first socialist state on German soil.

Only Socialism Serves the Well-Being of Man

Dear comrades, you can proceed from the fact that socialism, which began its triumphant march in the world with the October Revolution, will also in future serve the benefit of the people. The further increase of the economic efficiency of the GDR by increasing the labor productivity has been and will be of great importance in this connection. During your visit you were able to see how much our activity concentrates on this. One is pleased to see how well the workers and the cooperative peasants, the members of the intelligentsia, the women and young people know to act in accordance with the principles of socialist management, deal with all material resources in an economical way, strengthen the achievements and further gradually increase the material and cultural living standards.

Everything we do is aimed at the welfare of the people. In this there also rests the fundamental agreement of our domestic and foreign policy. Our persistent struggle for peace stems from the nature of socialism, in which no one can make a profit from armament and war.

Brussels Decision Creates Dangerous Situation for the FRG and All of Europe

Dear DKP comrades, today the prevention of a nuclear world war is the most pressing task, in this we are in full agreement with you. In view of the escalation of the international situation by the policy of intensified armament and confrontation of the most aggressive circles of NATO, in particular the United States, the main thing is to defend peace at any hour.

As in all other areas we are against a policy with a double bottom in the peace question, too. When we say peace we mean it. This is the difference between us and several leading politicians of the West, who talk much about peace but at the same time do all they can to strengthen the arms race, in particular in the nuclear field.

We are of the same opinion as you that the Brussels missiles decision can only cause trouble. With the best will in the world we cannot find anything positive in it; for its implementation creates a dangerous situation for Europe. The FRG cannot withdraw from these dangers if it is literally turned into a launching pad for new U.S. medium-range missiles.

We Are in Favor of Detente Policy and We Also Practice It

Despite all hostilities no one can deny that the attitude of the socialist countries in the peace question is exemplary. In your country there are people who doubt that. They want to make the East as well as the West responsible for aggravating the international situation and they often suggest to us that the GDR for its part exert an influence on its leading power -- a word that we cannot understand. But in questions of disarmament there is always an open door in the socialist community, including the Soviet Union, when one tries to win them for disarmament. The speeches of Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev at the 17th Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions and in Tashkent and his readiness to meet Ronald Reagan, President of the United States, in the autumn this year are known.

We are for disarmament; we also practice it. But the question arises as to what is to be made of the fact that Western politicians, among them some from the FRG, bluntly reject proposals for a missiles moratorium but support the NATO concept of a nuclear first strike in Europe.

In my opinion it would be a blessing for mankind if the peace movement in the FRG and in the United States were to succeed in preventing adventurism and paving the way for disarmament. The peoples of our continent and everywhere in the world do not need a further stockpiling of nuclear mass destruction means. They do not need confrontation, nor an economic war, a policy of sanctions and boycott. Armament limitation and disarmament in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security, cooperation to the mutual advantage -- these are the things that matter. This serves peace and benefits people.

In the Question of Peace All Citizens of Our Country Agree

Dear comrades, the GDR is an important force in the struggle for peace. This is proved by the founding document of the GDR, in which it is written in indelible letters that the historical task of the first German worker-peasant state is to ensure that war never again starts from German soil.

The transition of the United States from cooperation to confrontation was answered by the GDR citizens with a determined support for peace in 1979. In a relatively short time 13 million people signed a peace appeal which could not be ignored. On the question of peace all our citizens are of the same opinion, irrespective of ideology or religion. This is also expressed in the composition of the GDR Peace Council which represents an important social force. Also the forthcoming 1 May 1982 will again make visible the militant engagement of the GDR citizens in the cities and villages for peace.

Of course it is not convenient for thos who are trying to achieve intensified armament and military superiority that the constructive proposals of the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other socialist countries for peace and disarmaent, for the peaceful solution of all international problems are moving more and more into the awareness of all peoples. Thus it is not surprising that the NATO staffs are making many attempts at psychological warfare to detract from the true danger -- the U.S. missiles policy. Their calculations, however, will not bear fruit if all those who are truly interested in peace and security, consistently represent their common interests and do not let each other be played off against one another.

True Representatives of National Interests

You, dear DKP comrades, have made the struggle to secure peace the center of your work in accordance withthe line of the party congress of Hannover. You rightly refer to the close connection between the NATO intensified armament and mass unemployment with the heavier and heavier social burdens for the workers and employees, in particular also for the young people. Thus you act as representatives of the national interests of your country.

The Forces of Progress Are Stronger than Ever Before

In this struggle you have to face the furious attacks of the reaction, including the shameful policy of the prohibition preventing the members of your party from pursuing their professions. It honors your party that you, irrespective of these attacks of your enemies, firmly keep the banner of peace and freedom in your hands. The struggle for the rights of the people, against capitalist exploitation and policy of war, this struggle has never been easy but despite the great dangers in our days the forces of progress are much stronger than ever before. Thus proceed on your way with justified confidence. You can always rely on us, on the solidarity of the GDR communists, on the GDR citizens.

I ask you to raise your glass and drink with me to
-- the close fighting community between the SED and the DKP,
-- new successes in our common struggle for peace and socialism,
-- the welfare of the DKP chairman, our friend and comrade, Herbert Mies, and all members of our fraternal party.

USSR PROSECUTOR GENERAL REKUNKOV VISITS

AU261617 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24-25 Apr 82 p 6

[Summary] Berlin (ADN) -- "Horst Sindermann, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, member of the SED Contral Committee Politburo, Friday received for talks the delegation headed by Aleksandr M. Rekunkov, USSR prosecutor general and member of the CPSU Central Committee, which is visiting the GDR for an exchange of experiences."

In a friendly exchange of views Horst Sindermann pointed out the multifaceted activities which are being undertaken in implementation of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress to comprehensively strengthen state power and to consolidate socialist legality. "Aleksandr Rekunkov assessed the exchange of experiences between the state prosecutor's offices as a significant contribution to the fraternal cooperation between the two countries and to implementing the common goals of the states of the socialist community. Participating in the talks, which took place in a cordial and fraternal atmosphere, were Dr H.C. Josef Streit, GDR prosecutor general; Heinz Eichler, State Council secretary and USSR Ambassador to the GDR Petr Abrasimov.

STOPH RECEIVES BULGARIAN DEPUTY PREMIER

LD282208 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1811 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Berlin, 28 Apr (ADN) -- GDR Premier Willi Stoph today received the deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, Stanish Bonev, who is on a working visit to the GDR. During the friendly talk both politicians expressed satisfaction at the fact that bilateral relations have further deepened on the basis of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress and the 12th BCP Congress.

They reaffirmed their strong determination to continue to fully exploit all possibilities of cooperation for the well-being of the two peoples and in the interests of the socialist community of states. Stanish Bonev said that his current visit has opened up further ways to do this.

SCHABOWSKI MEETS WITH FINNISH CP OFFICIAL

LD282244 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1524 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Berlin, 28 Apr (ADN) -- Guenter Schabowski, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chief editor of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND had a friendly talk today with Erkki Kauppila, member of the Central Committee Political Bureau of the Finnish Communist Party and chief editor of KANSAN UUTISET, who is on a fact-finding visit to the GDR.

Guenter Schabowski reviewed the successful implementation of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress and of the tasks of political ideological work among the masses. Erkki Kauppila explained the situation in Finland and the policy of the Finnish Communist Party. They discussed current topics in the work of the mass media of the two parties.

JANOS KADAR CONTINUES VISIT TO WEST GERMANY

Dinner Toast 27 Apr

LD281904 Budapest MTI in English 1702 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Bonn, 28 Apr (MTI) -- Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and his wife gave a dinner in honor of HSWP CC First Secretary Janos Kadar and his wife in Bonn on Tuesday evening. Both statesmen delivered toast addresses. Hereinafter comes the full text of the toast delivered by Janos Kadar:

I was pleased to accept the invitation of Mr Chancellor, for two very good reasons. One of them is to promote this way the relations of Hungary and the Federal Republic of Germany, which are developing well. The other is that it is important that the representatives of the NATO-member FRG and the Warsaw Treaty-member Hungarian People's Republic, should meet and exchange a human word about the problems which concern our governments and peoples in the prevailing international situation. It is not necessary to speak about our bilateral relations here, as practically everybody present knows this process. Nevertheless, I would like to stress that we make efforts to maintain fruitful and mutually beneficial relations with each country, which is ready to do so, and this goes for the most important partner of Hungary in Western Europe, the Federal Republic of Germany, too.

The people and government of Hungary support peace and the settling of disputed international issues through negotiations. We are backers of detente -- I dare to use the word detente, said Janos Kadar. Many people in the West have recently criticized the years of detente. I do not want to go into the discussion of this here. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the years of detente were far better for the governments, economic experts and first of all for our peoples than those of the cold war. I would like to take the opportunity to stress that we regard the Helsinki process as a historic one. And I am always saying that we consider Helsinki not as an end but as a beginning. It is my deep conviction that there is no other way for mankind, and the European peoples than to continue to follow the spirit of Helsinki and to extend it also to other parts of the world. It may seem unbelievable just now, but I am deeply convinced that we all will return to this road, including even those who are now criticizing and doubting it. Common sense prompts that there is no other viable way.

Distinguished factors of the government and the public life of the Federal Republic of Germany, especially Chancellor Schmidt, have made great efforts and provided constructive help to the development of Hungarian-FRG relations. I highly appreciate the important role that you played in the Helsinki process. I know that the peoples have long memory and will not forget those who served the cause of detente, security and peace. Mr Chancellor has spoken about the spirit and results of our talks, about the questions discussed. Naturally, the fact that we belong to different alliance systems could be felt. Still I think that what is of primary significance is that we have taken a stand for the friendship and peaceful co-existence of peoples, and the development of our mutually beneficial relations, said Janos Kadar. As for the ways of answering present questions, shifting of stresses can be often felt, but as for the real target, it seemed to me, there was concord between us. We had a concurring opinion concerning the desired and direct object of the peoples: equal security at a lower level of armament. For this end, I think, we are ready on both sides to apply all the available means.

Mr Chancellor has mentioned that neither of our countries is a big power. We have eyes for facts. Hungary is really a small country, though, as my experience shows, even a small country can make trouble enough for the whole world. But not one or even several small countries can solve the great problems of the world. But I think it is a duty for you, representatives of a medium power, and also for us, representatives of a small country, to work in the interest of a good cause in proportion of our possibilities. Our country is neither big nor rich, and we have little capital in the classical sense of the word. Our capital, in a moral sense, is a frank, honest, understandable and consistent policy, which means that we want to be a faithful ally to our allies, a good friend to our friends, a good neighbor to our neighbors and a correct partner to our partners.

We adhere to this policy, stressed Janos Kadar. We try to exert influence in many ways in order to turn matters into a good direction. Even amidst the slightly tenser circumstances, we strive to safeguard and maintain relations, contacts and support genuine talks.

The shift of stress during our present talks was properly characterized by Mr. Chancellor when he said: He thinks that the United States is making efforts to reach an agreement at the Geneva talks, and hopes that the Soviet Union is making efforts to reach an agreement in Geneva, and hope that the United States is doing the same. But we have agreed on this point: May the hopes of both of us come true and may the representatives of these two powers of outstanding importance reach an agreement in Geneva.

I assure you that we continue to work for the promotion and development of the relations of the two countries and peoples, with the deep conviction that we serve dutifully not only the interest of the two peoples but also of the other peoples. I wish the people of the Federal Republic of Germany that they may work and enjoy the fruits of their work in peace, concluded his toast Janos Kadar.

Meets Businessmen 28 Apr

LD281846 Budapest MTI in English 1737 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Bonn, 28 Apr (MTI) -- Wednesday morning at his residence in Gymnich Castle Janos Kadar met with Otto Wolff von Amerongen, president of the Association of German Chambers of Commerce and Industry, with Karl-Otto Poehl, president of the Deutsche Bundesbank, with Otto Esser, president of the Confederation of German Manufacturers, as well as with several other representatives of the economic and financial life of the FRG. The meeting was attended by Norman Dencker, Budapest ambassador of the FRG, as well as by undersecretaries Janos Nagy of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry and Istvan Torok of the Foreign Trade Ministry. Peter Kovari, Hungary's ambassador to Bonn, was also present.

Talks With DKP's Mies

LD281104 Budapest MTI in English 1021 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Bonn, 28 Apr (MTI) -- Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, who is currently visiting the capital of the Federal Republic of Germany at the invitation of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, met Herbert Mies, chairman of the German Communist Party (DKP) in the Gymnich Castle his residence, Wednesday morning.

Sees Schmidt, Genscher

LD281850 Budapest MTI in English 1734 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Bonn, 28 Apr (MTI) -- On Wednesday afternoon, Janos Kadar held a final talk at the chancellor's office with Helmut Schmidt. Afterwards they informed the representatives of international press about the themes of their talks, the atmosphere. Both Janos Kadar and Helmut Schmidt evaluated the results of the almost one hour long meeting held in the chancellor's office with great satisfaction. As the last official programme of the Bonn visit of Janos Kadar, the first secretary of the HSWP CC met with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, chairman of the Free Democratic Party. Mrs Janos Kadar, accompanied by Madame Hannelore Schmidt, viewed the Cologne Cathedral on Wednesday, then visited the world-famous 4711 Eau de Cologne factory.

Schmidt, Kadar Remarks

LD282046 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] We have significantly contributed to the continuation of what is called detente in Europe, said Chancellor Schmidt a short time ago at a meeting with representatives of the press. This event was the penultimate item on the agenda for Janos Kadar's 2-day visit to Bonn.

Contrary to expectations, the two statesmen spoke to journalists for an hour mentioning in detail the topics of their talks and the identity and differences in their views on world affairs. At the same time, both men emphasized their desire to continue the dialogue, in spite of the international situation, which has become more difficult, in the same manner that they continue to develop bilateral relations in all spheres.

Helsinki, said Helmut Schmidt, was not the end but just the opposite -- the beginning of a new process in Europe. The chancellor did not fail to mention that in some issues -- the assessment of Afghanistan, Poland, medium-range missiles -- there was not agreement between the two of them. The two sides did agree however that, with regard to the present situation, they would consider a personal meeting of the leaders of the two great powers, Reagan and Brezhnev, particularly good.

The first secretary of the MSZMP then said:

[Begin Kadar recording] In the past few years, the relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the FRG consisting of interstate political relations, political consultative meetings, and -- which is not of minor significance -- economic relations, cultural relations, meetings of the people and large-scale travel to Hungary and from Hungary to here have favorably developed. This has facilitated our meeting.

The other decisive factor determining the tasks of such meetings is the international situation. For this visit I had to consider that, in comparison with the time of my previous visit to Bonn, the international situation has exacerbated slightly and become more complicated. Nevertheless, I thought that it was appropriate to come now.

As regards international issues, the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and I believe that contacts must be maintained, that it is necessary to negotiate and that disputes must be settled through negotiation. This is why we believe that it is very important that, in such conditions -- in a certain sense, perhaps, beyond the relationship of the two of us -- it must be proved that there is the readiness that we should meet to discuss the current issues, that our contacts work. It is very important that the international situation not turn in a bad, but rather in a good direction.

I have seen that everyone here believes in the expansion of economic and other types of cooperation between the Hungarian People's Republic and the FRG and is ready to promote this. We, too, are believers in the expansion of relations. We are ready to work to that end, and we have found a realistic possibility for relations to really develop.

As regards international issues, we devoted much of the time at our disposal to them. We reviewed them, we stated our positions, in which there was identity regarding essential issues, concurrence, and by virtue of the nature of the affair, also differences. If I understood the chancellor correctly, there was agreement between us in that neither of us are heartened by the exacerbation of the international situation. We consider this a serious and dangerous thing. We turned to an examination of the causes of the tension, and to a certain extent we considered the appropriate steps. Here our stands did not agree 100 percent.

Otherwise our talks were characterized by openness and sincerity, and this was the case at all five of our meetings. This is an encouraging, good thing. Naturally, we did not make a secret of it, but we held talks in which we acknowleged that the FRG is a member state of NATO, noting by the way, not just any member state, and that the Hungarian People's Republic belongs to the Warsaw Pact. And thus, as such, we seek the opportunities, we see what we can do in the [words indistinct].

As regards the essence of things, I think that again we expressed identical hopes, we gave voice to identical wishes. I think that these two negotiating sides, Chancellor Schmidt and myself -- or if you like I can say the relevant leaders of the FRG and the Hungarian People's Republic -- maintain that we must preserve contacts between countries with different social systems, that we must hold meetings and talks and that we must promote understanding.

Chancellor Schmidt and I also seriously hope that the talks between the Soviet Union and the United States that have opened in Geneva on medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe and on other issues will reach agreement and a solution which is in accordance with the principle of mutual security and with our wish, the wish of the peoples, too, that there be a lower level of armaments. Similarly, it seems that we both believe that international tension should not increase, but decrease. We believe that the political process which, (?according to my conviction), only began in Helsinki, should continue, because no other rational future of mankind can be envisaged than that manifested in the spirit of Helsinki, because countries belonging to different systems of alliance attempt to harmonize their interests and to find solutions acceptable to every side, the [words indistinct] holding down of the arms race and the decrease in arms with a view to increasing confidence and security. [end recording]

With the conclusion of the press conference, the chancellor and his guest took leave of one another. Janos Kadar went to (?Gymnich Castle), the guest house of Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. His talks with the foreign minister have just ended.

Comments on FRG, Poland

LD282052 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Interview given by Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, in Bonn -- date not specified -- with unidentified questioners; first questioner speaks in German followed by Hungarian translation, second questioner speaks in Hungarian -- recorded]

[Text] [First questioner] Mr First Secretary, relations between the FRG and the Hungarian People's Republic are characterized here in Bonn as problem-free. What is your opinion?

[Answer] Indeed, our relations -- our many-faceted relations -- have for a long time been developing smoothly and trouble-free. [Words indistinct] this was one of the central topics of this visit and of our talks here. On this we were fully agreed, both with Chancellor Schmidt and my other partners, and the intention is mutual.

[Second questioner] You have been visiting the second most important NATO state. With what impressions do you return home? Is there any hope of the European situation improving?

[Answer] I could say also that the second decisive justification of my trip was the exchange of views and discussions about the present complex international issues, which are pregnant with tensions. We have had very open, honest and I think constructive discussions, for which I naturally thank my hosts. With regard to these issues, there are some common things in our stands and there are divergences. I could say that on the fundamental situation our opinion is shared, that the international situation at present is pregnant with tension, and this is not desirable. There is divergence on the concrete issues discussed [word indistinct] standpoints. For the sake of an example, in view of the nature of the affair, the issue of the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe the FRG Government aligns itself to certain NATO stances. It holds itself to these. We, on the other hand, in approaching the issue see the most expedient way as lying in the series of Soviet proposals, in those which our friend Comrade Brezhnev made known in his statement to PRAVDA, in his Tashkent speech. We agree with these and support them. Well, this is where our stances diverge.

However, what I consider to be very important and good is that on the final conclusion of the issue, our standpoints are once again shared. Because, I am convinced and it is my opinion that both sides actively oppose the deployment henceforth in Europe of medium-range missiles, in the endeavor to develop a calmer international situation, at a lower level of armaments, by means of negotiations and in accordance with mutual security. In this issue both sides attach great expectations to the Soviet-American talks in Geneva -- trust in their successful outcome -- and (?we on our side) and Chancellor Schmidt and his men on their side have said that each according to his possibilities wants to proceed in that direction and really to (?achieve results).

[First questioner] Polish developments are being observed in the FRG with great concern. General Jaruzelski recently paid a visit to you. What do you think developments will be in Poland, and what will be the fate of the trade union opposition?

[Answer] It is our impression that the Polish partners, First Secretary and Premier Jaruzelski, as well as his allies who came with him, see the complex Polish situation in a very realistic way. It goes without saying that they see the state of emergency, announced on 13 December, not as a final result but as a starting point in the interest of a correct, good socialist solution of the very difficult current problems of Polish society.

They are at present examining the solution of the trade unions issues; the final solution here has not yet been evolved. But it no doubt applies also to this that [word indistinct] very baffling, that they do not wish to return to the pre-August 1980 situation, but they consider just as inadmissible the very perceptible fanatical conditions which had already arisen before 13 December last year. They wish to solve the issues on a principled basis, by maintaining the fundamental socialist achievements and status of the Polish people, [words indistinct] we are in solidarity with this endeavor and we support it.

West German Coverage

For West German reportage of the visit of MSZMP First Secretary Janos Kadar to the FRG, including reports on his talks with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, see the Federal Republic of Germany section of the 29 April Western Europe DAILY REPORT.

PREMIER LAZAR VISITS COUNTY FEJER 27-28 APR

Start of Visit

LD272102 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 27 Apr 82

[Excerpts] Gyoyrgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, today started his 2-day visit to County Fejer.

Visit Concludes

LD282302 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Arpad Banki dispatch]

[Excerpts] Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, today ended his visit to County Fejer. Early this morning the chairman, accompanied by the county's leaders, left the county seat for a tour of various factories. He visited the Szabadegyhaza liquid sugar and alcohol factory, which was inaugurated last year. The chairman of the Council of Ministers then visited Danavjvaros, one of the important industrial centers of County Fejer. Gyorgy Lazar, member of the MSZMP Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, ended his 2-day visit to County Fejer and returned to Budapest in the late afternoon hours.

BRIEFS

NEW SZOLNOK PARTY LEADER -- Karoly Majoros has become the new first secretary of the County Szolnok party committee. Miklos Andriko, who was the first secretary up to now, has been relieved of his post after being appointed state secretary for internal trade. Karoly Majoros was formerly one of the secretaries of the county party committee. [Text] [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 19 Apr 82 LD]

POLISH MINISTER IN BUDAPEST -- Budapest, 25 Apr (MTI) -- Boleslaw Faron, Poland's minister of education and pedagogy, arrived in Budapest Sunday for an official friendship visit, invited by Imre Pozsgay. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1021 GMT 26 Apr 83 LD]

EASING OF RESTRICTIONS, FREEING OF INTERNEES NOTED

Military Council Session

LD281752 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] A meeting of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON] has taken place in Warsaw under the chairmanship of Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski. An appraisal of the current situation in the country was made, and further progress in the normalization of social life was determined. In connection with this, the WRON adopted propositions presented by Lt Gen Czeslaw Kiszczak, member of the WRON and minister of interior, concerning the further easing or repealing of some of the restrictions resulting from martial law. The chairman of the WRON instructed that the measures should be implemented from 2 May.

At the same time the WRON instructed the appropriate state organs to act decisively in respect of those persons who abuse the trust of the authorities and who do not observe the requirements of martial law, as well as to implement the rigors of martial law in cases of incitement, and social disturbances.

Internal Ministry Communique

LD281752 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Communique issued by the Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs -- date not given]

[Text] Following further stabilization of the situation in our country the minister of internal affairs, implementing the instructions of the chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation, ordered the release of 800 internees. An additional 200 people are to get a conditional leave from the places of detention [warunkowo urlopowac].

The decision on release and the granting of leave concern people whose behavior during the internment indicates that their attitudes and further behavior will be in accordance with the legal order in force in our country and will not constitute a threat to the social calm and security of the state.

Apart from this decision the minister of internal affairs has decided as of 2 May:

To abolish the curfew on the territory of the whole country, passing further decision on this matter to the voivodas;

To abolish the requirement to obtain permission to call and hold gatherings organized by the civic committees of national rebirth and meetings organized by residents' committees, courses, conferences and training organized by the active social and cooperative organizations as well as group tourist excursions organized by the work enterprises and organizations;

To abolish the restrictions on border traffic in the border crossing points in Pietrowice, Glucholazy, Lysa Polana and Piwniczna.

Also a number of things will be made easier for the foreigners staying in Poland. As of 15 May some of the restrictions on correspondents accredited at the press center of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will be abolished.

The consular offices are hereby returned the right to issue entry visas for representatives of diplomatic offices, representatives of foreign trade and industrial firms and hunters, thus returning the legal conditions in this sphere which were in force before 13 December 1981. At the same time the minister of internal affairs, having consulted the minister of communications, has ordered that as of 10 May the intervoivodship automatic telephone links in Poland are to be restored.

'Significant Number' Released

LD291054 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0532 GMT 29 Apr 82

[Text] The press today publishes the good news about the successive alleviations of the martial law restrictions and the release or parole of a very significant number of detainees. A ZYCIE WARSZAWY journalist reports that among the approximately 1,000 people who will be released or paroled, there are: 351 workers; 24 farmers, and 367 persons from intellectual circles -- among them 31 academic workers, 1 actor, 2 literary people and 35 students.

There are 64 women among the people who will be freed today and tomorrow, that is one-third of the tota' number of women who are currently in internment centers. Some 154 NSZZ Solidarity activists are being released. A ZYCIE WARSZAWY journalist received this information at the Government Press Office. Information about who has been released comes from the same source. Here are some names:

Halina Mikolajska, actress; reader (Roman Zimant) from the Institute of Literary Research; Ryszard (Rubinstein) and Marian (Spebrny) from the Institute of Mathematics of the Polish Academy of Sciences; reader Jerzy (Holcer), from the Department of History at Warsaw University; (Loter Herbst) chairman of Wroclaw branch of the Union of Polish Writers; Aleksander Malachowski, publicist; and reader Halina Suwala, from Warsaw University.

The decision to intern Wladyslaw Bartoszewski has definitely been revoked. He has already been released. Leave has also been granted to Wiktor Woroszylski, a poet, and Adam (Macedonski), a writer from Krakow.

Regulations 'Still in Force'

LD281812 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Regardless of the many relaxations of martial law, introduced as the situation in the country stabilizes, defined regulations introduced on 13 December 1981 are still in force. This also applies to internment and summary proceedings in criminal procedure. Internment may be applied as a preventive measure throughout the entire period in which martial law is in force.

Those who, after release from the places of isolation, have not taken the chance of returning to normal life and have undertaken activity contrary to the law, may also be interned. In the last period, 20 persons who have undertaken activities aimed at the legal order or have presented a threat to the legal order since their release from places of isolation were arrested or interned again. Summary legal proceedings are being carried out against those arrested. Indictments will soon be submitted to courts against Franciszek (?D) from Bydgoszcz, Jaroslaw D. from Radom and Edward C. from Leszno Voivodship, among others, who have committee acts breeching the martial law.

SOLIDARITY APPEALS FOR BOYCOTT OF MAY DAY PARADES

LD281106 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1030 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] In a secret appeal to the Polish people Solidarity calls for a boycott of the official May Day parades on Saturday. Instead Solidarity wants the Poles to gather in the churches to pray for (?civil peace and bread) and workers' rights.

PRIMATE GLEMP: TIME NOT RIGHT FOR POPE'S VISIT

NC282005 Paris AFP in English 2000 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Rome, 28 Apr (AFP) -- Archbishop Josef Glemp, the primate of Poland, said here today that conditions were not yet favorable for the pope to go through with plans for a visit to Poland.

The papal visit had been scheduled for August 26 to coincide with celebrations upon the 600th anniversary of Poland's holiest shrine at Czestochowa.

Archbishop Glemp, speaking to members of the Polish church here, said however, that the anniversary year had been declared extended to September 1983, so as to take in the 200th anniversary of Catholic King Jan Sobieski's victory against the Turks. The suggestion appeared to be that if the pontiff could not come this year, he might still do so in 1983.

The archbishop said that conditions for the visit "depend on us, the Poles, on all of (Polish) society and on the rest of the world." He underlined that the Polish church wished "to play the role of a mediator, of a bridge, and not that of a partner of any of the parties concerned" in the Polish situation, in apparent reference to both the Polish communist party and the suspended Solidarity union. "The church," he added, "wants before everything a normalization acceptable to all."

FORMER RURAL SOLIDARITY CHAIRMAN KULAJ RELEASED

Talk With Malinowski

LD281822 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] In Warsaw today Roman Malinowski, chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee received Jan Kulaj, former chairman of NSZZ Rural Solidarity of Private Farmers, who has been released from internment at the suggestion of the chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee.

The two men discussed issues connected with the development of agriculture and social and self-managing activity in the countryside. Jan Kulaj expressed his support for the resolutions of the Eighth ZSL Supreme Committee Plenum and expressed his willingness to actively participate in the activities of the ZSL.

Kulaj Television Interview

LD281950 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Ryszard (Sujecki) 28 April interview with Jan Kulaj, former chairman of NSZZ Rural Solidarity of Private Farmers -- recorded]

[Text] [Question] You have just finished a talk with Deputy Premier Roman Malinowski. What questions did you focus on? How would you assess your talk?

[Answer] Mr editor, I have been dealing with agricultural matters for a rather long time and rural issues are not without importance to me. I would also like to emphasize that my parents are working in the countryside and that I myself returned to the countryside after I finished school. Well, while working in a rural movement I had an opportunity to meet the authorities of the Ministry of Agriculture and ZSL activists several times, so this talk with Deputy Premier Malinowski was not the first one; we have met several times and I believe that our talks have been necessary and beneficial.

I agree with Deputy Premier Malinowski's statement today that in the current situation, during the crisis our country is currently experiencing, it is necessary to start with hard work, with the countryside and (?with work at the grass roots). It is also necessary to activate all social units working for the sake of agriculture so that their work, together with the productive work of farmers, will ensure a rapid resolution of our country's food crisis. It is also necessary to activate industry in order to make it at last work in accordance with the resolution of the most recent plenary session of the ZSL Supreme Committee and in order to forge a genuine link between the workers and the farmers, because it is well known that if a person is sure of enough food he will also feel deeper commitment to his work. Surely this is obvious.

[Question] Did you also agree on the other issues you discussed or were there any disagreements?

[Answer] Well, Mr editor, we discussed some problems in detail. It is difficult to say here that we completely agreed on those subjects or that our views were identical. However, if there were differences, in my opinion there were very small, especially regarding detailed solutions. On the other hand, as far as essential matters were concerned, one can support some drafts of the proposed solutions. I myself believe that they are quite good and hope the farmers will accept them.

On the other hand, in my opinion some others need to be amended. I suggested such amendments to the deputy premier, but those matters will be further examined and resolved. However, I do not question the essential nature of generally all the concepts Mr Malinowski presented, because they are a continuation of what had already been discussed earlier. Simply speaking, after perhaps a little improvement, they will be quite acceptable.

I must tell you one more thing here. We do not always meet only officially with Deputy Premier Malinowski; we do not have only official contacts. We are simply members of the same peasant organization -- the United Peasant Party -- and we feel a certain mutual empathy and mutual trust.

During this talk I also had the opportunity to become familiar with materials from the last plenum of the ZSL Supreme Committee. Naturally they deal with matters of current interest to the peasants and to society. During our talk we also considered the possibility of my participating in the work of the ZSL. At the moment this is simply a matter of great satisfaction to me because other organizations are suspended. In order to ensure continuity one should have the opportunity to express one's views legally or to defend one's stand. At the moment, for me as a peasant, the only organization which is acting legally is the ZSL and I would like to use this chance in the peasant movement to help agriculture.

[Question] You said that there are many urgent and necessary things to be done in the villages and for the villages. Who should be doing this? In your opinion what forces should be activated and mobilized for this purpose?

[Answer] As I said earlier, one should begin with good work in every work place, not just at selected units. Units will achieve nothing and can do nothing on their own. The entire rural milieu must move to resolve its problems with work. The entire aktiv, which wants to work together, must be mobilized in this direction. I continue to notice the need for activization -- and these must not be just empty words. There must not be, as before, many organizations and social actions that do not always deal directly with the interests of farmers. The farmer did not treat them as something he expected. [as heard] It is also essential to take into consideration needs and realities -- social and economic realities. One also must say openly: It must fit into our legal system.

The structures we had until now acted -- and in a certain period over the last few years, one could say that the countryside was split. [sentence as heard] This did not encourage a good climate in the countryside. On the contrary, it stopped the wealthy trend of actions.

I believe it is necessary to create an organization that would allow all the social forces that want to be active in the countryside to develop their initiatives for the sake of strengthening unity and to demonstrate their dynamism in cooperation for the sake of the countryside, and thus for the sake of the entire community.

[Question] How do you view the question of reconciling all the duties you must cope with: work at the ZSL, social activity and of course personal matters which are important?

[Answer] I have never allowed anyone to force anything on me. Everything I accepted, I accepted with a full sense of responsibility and full ability to cope. If I am to undertake any activity now, I must be sure I can cope. Right now I have the time to think it over. I think that I am capable of doing something for Poland and for agriculture.

I will definitely take over my parents' farm, because my parents have this intention, as their health is not the best and they simply want the next generation to take over that farmland. I think that this (?work) can be reconciled; whether in social or political organizations will all depend on how many activists there are. I think that there are no obstacles for me in my personal life and work in the countryside. My view is this: All farmers should work in unity and contribute actively to undertakings. There simply must be unity in the whole of agriculture. After all, that is the condition which, if met, can bring results for our country, lifting the economy up and ensuring food supplies. That is what everyone is waiting for. I, too, am longing for it.

DEPUTY PREMIER RAKOWSKI INTERVIEWED BY DIE PRESSE

AU281719 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 28 Apr 82 p 3

[Philipp E. Gudenus report on exclusive interview with Polish Deputy Premier Miecyslaw Rakowski in Warsaw -- date not given]

[Excerpts] Jaruzelski's concept of a strong military state in which officers replace the party as a power structure is said to have originated with Rakowski. But everything the deputy premier has tackled since his appointment a year ago has failed. Instead of the renewal propagated by the chief editor, there is martial law. Rakowski was in charge of the trade union and continues to be in charge, but "Solidarity" has been smashed. He has remained publisher of POLITYKA, but one third of his editorial staff has been purged, and long-standing associates of Rakowski are now looking for "any job that is decent," by advertisements. And Rakowski is also in charge of culture: does not the Association of Cultural Workers have to fear that in the forthcoming negotiations it will share fate of the Journalists Association, which has just been disbanded? How does Mieczyslaw Rakowski feel today, 4 months after the proclamation of martial law?

"As before, I am sure that I am pursuing the right political line and that I did the right thing in the past few months preceding 13 December when I warned the extremists of 'Solidarity' as well as intellectuals including the journalists, that the political course they adopted was bound to lead to political disaster." All these warnings, Rakowski says, have proved to be justified.

It is not true that there has been a purge in POLITYKA, Rakowski goes on to say. Each member of the editorial staff has had the opportunity to decide for himself whether to stay or to quit; 11 of them have left, which also resulted in a long overdue rejuvenation of the editorial staff and will have a favorable effect on the paper. The Association of Cultural Workers will not be disbanded; some of the artists are already working, and some others will resume work, Rakowski says, adding that he continues to be convinced that the process of democratic reforms can be continued.

Rakowski outlines the party position on the events of last fall: Constant strikes touched off by radical workers leaders eventually compelled the leadership to prevent the complete disintegration of the state and to proclaim martial law. Poland has had a great chance to renew the socialist structures, but this could not have been achieved through "anarchism." Due to Lech Walesa's lacking readiness for cooperation, the "national accord" did not materialize. According to this version it cannot be true that the ordinary workers drove their "Solidarity" leaders more and more into confrontation with the government; "I am not naive, and I have seen that radicalism at the base certainly did develop through instructions from the top." Rakowski cites as an example a walkout in the Zielona Gora district: There, the majority belonging to Branch Trade Unions was compelled by a minority to carry out a strike.

But eventually he concedes: "I do not claim that there are no radical trends in the base but -- as a Polish saying goes -- don't let us get confused, the movements that are the most radical are always a mixture of organization and natural urge. And this was what happened in Poland also."

It is simply not true that throughout the country the factories were idle owing to raw material shortages, he says. "One cannot simply take the month of November to judge what we did on 13 December." Poland's place in Europe depends on its economic position, and at present Poland is Europe's beggar. "We are ashamed of that." It was not so much the wave of strikes but the constant threat of strikes which weakened the economic structures. It was imperative to introduce martial law "because Poland must overcome the crisis."

"It is all very nice to be enthusiastic about democracy in Poland -- from outside. But how Poland is going to be, will be determined by the efficiency of work." Rakowski does not worry much about Western complaints about martial law. 'What interests me is when and how we will overcome the economic crisis. As far as the interned "Solidarity" leaders are concerned, they should think things over. They surely have enough time for that. They should answer the question why they were so stupid.... after August 1980, when such wonderful chances were offering themselves to Poland...."

The fact that now, in the first quarter of this year, the Polish economy is turning out less than during the corresponding period of last year is also the fault of the "extremists," according to Rakowski: through the decline in coal production Poland's national economy lost more than $1 billion last year, and the effects of that are making themselves fully felt only now. Certainly the reasons are also inherent in the system -- "but now we are only talking about one side of the picture: the responsibility of the 'Solidarity' leaders."

How are things to continue in Poland? As far as the trade unions are concerned, nothing has been decided yet to date. However, "I am against trade unions -- any kind of trade unions whatever -- playing the role of a political party."

Rakowski is convinced: "The number of interned is declining day by day, and it will continue to decline." Walesa should stay in the same circumstances in which he is now. Were he released, it would be claimed that the government had "turned him around." Secondly, it is not clear what Walesa might be up to once he were released. Moreover, a provocation cannot be ruled out: "What if, for example, somebody shoots him?"

"What is at stake is not only the safe development of the Polish state," Rakowski says in conclusion, "but also peace in Europe. Although Poland has lost the position it used to hold, it continues to play an important part in the balance of forces between West and East. And we must bear that in mind, too."

OBODOWSKI CHAIRS GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC MEETING

LD282254 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] The Presidium of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers held a session today which was chaired by Vice Premier Janusz Obodowski. It examined the problems encountered in the supply of coal to the public, with particular attention devoted to supplies for the countryside.

About 1.5 million tons of hard coal more than last year will be allocated for the needs of the agricultural population.

The Presidium of the Economic Committee also adopted a decision aimed at improving services for the population and consented to the granting of budget subsidies which are necessary for the financing of seven investment projects in the Ministry of Health.

EIGHTH PZPR PLENUM RESOLUTION PUBLISHED

AU281615 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 26 Apr 82 pp 1, 2

["Resolution Adopted by the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum" -- issued in Warsaw on 23 April 1982]

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee states that in the period between the seventh and eighth plenums the party's political activity has been enlivened, and that progress has been made in implementing the ninth congress resolutions. It acknowledges approvingly the reports presented on that matter.

The introduction of martial law has opened the road to normalizing economic life. Increased output of coal and other raw materials has been the basis for a partial invigoration of industry and the entire economy. The process of restoring money-market equilibrium has been initiated and progress in foreign trade has been recorded.

However, the overcoming of difficulties is too slow. The atmosphere of frustration and the wait-and-see attitude has not been overcome everywhere. What is necessary is for everyone to adapt thinking and action to new mechanisms of economic management, which calls for initiative and resourcefulness on the part of the managing cadres and all work forces.

The Central Committee approves of the Politburo and government reports and recognizes that it is necessary to intensify party work in overcoming the crisis and in observing the socialist principles of social justice.

Implementing the ninth congress resolutions, the Central Committee continues to invariably profess the patriotic idea of national agreement as a platform of constructive relations with all the social forces that recognize and heed the supremacy of the socialist state's interests. The realization of that idea and the defeat of destructive forces are a condition for internal peace, for extricating the country from its crisis, for stabilizing the economy and for successful development. The Central Committee stresses the special role that the civic committees for national rebirth can play in the process of uniting all the patriotic forces of the people.

1. The Central Committee recognizes the government "Program for Overcoming the Crisis" as the correct directive for continuing anticrisis measures and, at the same time, proposes that all possible steps be taken to shorten the period in which economic equilibrium should be restored. For this reason party organizations in all enterprises, cooperatives and institutions will inspire managements and workers collectives to draw up their own programs for overcoming difficulties and for achieving better results than last year. Those programs will be presented at open party meetings by the end of June of this year. Party members should be leaders in implementing those programs and should create a favorable political climate in enterprises.

2. The Central Committee appreciates the favorable changes taking place in the manner in which government bodies function, and recognizes the purposefulness of further actions to adapt the organization, methods and style of work performed by ministries to the requirements of the economic reform.

The Central Committee recognizes that it is right to apply competitive procedures when appointing managers of enterprises and [enterprise] associations. It is desirable to work out a system of evaluating the managing cadres. Such a system should be based on the criteria by which the results of enterprises' performances are appraised. To this end it is necessary to take advantage of the advice and work produced by the chief technical organization, the Polish Economic Society and the Scientific Society of Organization and Administration.

The Central Committee takes the view that it is necessary to adapt the system of information and the methods of evaluating the performance of economic organizations to the reformed principles of their functioning.

3. The development of the principle of workers self-management in enterprises is an important stage in the consolidation of socialist relations in our country. The Central Committee recognizes that it is right to gradually restore the activity of workers self-management groups even during the state of martial law, in step with the emergence of adequate political, economic and organizational conditions in enterprises.

It is the task of party organizations to create -- together with managements and the socialist commissions operating in enterprises -- the political conditions for setting up self-management bodies, and to propose for them the best, most competent and responsible employees of enterprises.

4. At the present stage of the implementation of the economic reform in enterprises, the following tasks are of most crucial significance:

-- Promoting extensive economic education among work forces in connection with switching over to the principles of self-financing of economic activities, especially in the sphere of remuneration of employees and developmental undertakings.

-- Rationally exploiting manpower resources and adapting the volume and structure of employment in every enterprise to production needs. The party will see that the resulting process of the transfers of employees is executed in line with the principles of social justice.

-- The working out by enterprises of their own systems of motivation after the government has issued the decree to modify the principles of remuneration in 1982. This will encourage increases in labor productivity and conservation of raw and other materials, as well as of fuels and energy.

Party organizations will create an advantageous political climate to encourage the correct implementation of those tasks and -- together with the social [spoleczne] consultative commissions and with social [socjalne] commissions -- will discuss them at open party meetings in the third quarter of this year. It is necessary to explain those tasks to work forces in a thorough and intelligible manner, and to lay special stress on the opportunities, dangers and responsibilities attending on the introduction of the socioeconomic mechanisms.

The party knows that most enterprises are finding it difficult to meet the requirements of the economic reform under the present conditions of supplies. The state can provide only temporary assistance in that connection. Enterprises must effectively brace themselves for solving those problems in a resourceful and self-dependent manner.

5. The Central Committee instructs party organizations in economic units to assume activities in order to boost work discipline and productivity, and to lower the consumption of materials in production. Enterprises should continue to go over to domestic raw and other materials and to those imported from socialist countries.

Along these lines, it is necessary to stimulate the initiative of the enterprise cells of the scientific-technical and economic organizations and associations, and the initiative of the technology and rationalization clubs operating in state and cooperative enterprises.

6. The lowering of production costs and the raising of the effectiveness of economic management heavily affects the economic results of enterprises and cooperatives, and the level of prices and employee wages. The party organizations' efforts to create the necessary political climate for a universal review of production costs -- in order to ensure that the results of one's own mismanagement do not burden society -- are the key issues of the independent development of consensus prices and regulated prices. Of great importance are control checks carried out by the teams -- set up on the initiative of the party -- for analyzing costs and prices as well as, in particular, the consumption of raw and other materials, fuels, energy, costs of transportation and storage, and expenditure to support the administration.

7. The Central Committee deems it ncessary to adapt the activities of the industry's scientific research base to the current economic situation and to the new fiscal principles of the functioning of this base. A review of the results of completed scientific research work should be carried out with the assistance of experts from the chief technical organization, and should primarily seek to appraise the ability of these results to be implemented in economic practice. Party organizations operating in the scientific research base are enjoined to inspire research work in line with the true needs of the economy and individual enterprises. The managements of research units and production enterprises will create suitable conditions for those undertakings.

8. The cooperation with and the internationalist assistance rendered by the USSR and other states of the socialist community are the crucial mainsprings of extricating ourselves from the crisis. The recent visits of our party-state delegations to Moscow, Berlin, Prague and Budapest have provided new significant impulses for expanding that cooperation. The present efforts to greatly expand and tighten our cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are based on enduring foundations and are long-term in nature.

It is the task of party organizations to create a political climate to encourage closer production cooperation and scientific research cooperation among the enterprises of the CEMA countries and, in particular, the efforts to intensify cooperation and to exploit free production capacities.

The Central Committee takes the view that the necessary attention be paid to economic cooperation with the developing countries. It is also advisable to continue economic cooperation with the Western countries on the principle of mutual advantage and non-interference in the domestic affairs of partners.

9. The Central Committee stresses the particular importance of the activities aimed at more rapidly and extensively inducing industrial production to meet the production needs of farming and the food economy -- especially such needs as farm machines and equipment, chemical products and building materials. Party organizations in industrial enterprises should energetically support those activities.

Everyone, especially party levels and organizations in rural areas, is enjoined to promote -- together with the ZSL echelons -- activities to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and to stimulate the rural areas' production militancy and the cultivation of every strip of land. Sponsoring activities to counter a bad exploitation of equipment, to reduce losses in raw materials and to strengthen the economic-production ties with individual farmers and socialized farms is a particularly important task for party work in the units providing services for agriculture and processing farm produce.

10. Speeding up the development of housing construction in urban and rural areas is an extremely urgent social problem. The preliminary draft program for improving housing conditions up to 1990, which was drawn up by the government and examined by the Central Committee Commission for Economic Reform and Policy, should be subjected to extensive social discussions with the help of party organizations and the social and consultative commissions in enterprises.

These discussions should help stimulate local initiatives which take account of the aspirations and potentials of all social groups, especially of young people, who are aware of the fact that the patronage organizations have great opportunities now for assuaging and then solving the housing problems. Such initiatives must encourage the exploitation of all local opportunities for improving the housing situation, especially for better utilizing the building potential, and for promoting a more effective policy of allocating building materials and of more extensively committing people's own initiative and material resources.

The Central Committee stresses the need for the rational administration of the retrieved empty apartments and for the observance of the principles of justice in allocating apartments. The openness of the apartment allocation is the necessary condition for this justice. The poorest people, for whom the program provides for the allocation of apartments under the communal system of housing construction, should enjoy special care.

The draft program to be subjected to social consultation in enterprises and cooperative and social organizations should also include the suggested changes in some principles of housing policy, and the necessary legal enactments. Housing policy must be resolute and consistent. Within its framework, material, fiscal and systemic conditions should be created to encourage the development of various forms of housing construction. Efforts to reduce building materials, to resolutely combat the waste of these materials and to cut construction costs are the basic issue.

All the business connected with the housing construction program and with the changes in housing policy, which should take into account the proposals put forward during consultations, should be completed by the end of next June.

11. The top task of social policy should be meeting those needs that make it possible for the groups of the people whose incomes are the lowest and who are in the most difficult material situation to survive the most difficult period.

The Central Committee approves of the Politburo's stand on the need to accelerate work on the bill on the general system of retirement pensions. One meaning of this bill is that the old system of retirement pensions will be gradually eliminated. The work on the bill in question should make possible its coming into force as of 1 January 1983. Party organizations as well as work forces and managements of enterprises and cooperatives should do all they can to ensure that the state's increased expenditure for that purpose is compensated for by increased labor productivity and lower production costs.

12. The Central Committee enjoins all Central Committee departments to examine -- together with the appropriate ministries -- all the proposals submitted during the plenary discussion and in problem teams. Information about the implementation of those proposals will be presented to the Central Committee toward the end of this year.

[Signed] The PZPR Central Committee, Warsaw, 23 April 1982

DRAZEK ADDRESSES EIGHTH PZPR PLENUM 23 APR

AU281744 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24-25 Apr 82 p 3

[Report on speech by Mieczyslaw Drazek, Central Committee member and employee of the Koga enterprise in Hel, Gdansk Voivodship, at the 23 April sesion of the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw]

[Text] In my view, this plenum on the party's tasks in implementing this year's socio-economic targets should supply in-depth answers to the question on the reasons for the feeble implementation of the ninth congress resolution, and what specific tasks the party must tackle to at last lift the country and its economy from the very bottom of our crisis.

The workers class is interested in the speediest possible return of our economy to its normal pace and correct direction. However, this genuine interest cannot be expressed in concrete activities because our knowledge of the mechanisms of the reformed economy and of its basic principles and tangible social results is inadequate.

In line with the earlier predictions, the reluctance, hostility and almost always inadequate knowledge of and training for the reform on the part of the managing cadres of all levels are the basic barriers poised against the reform. The examples of positive action in that regard are too few in view of the present needs. Besides, most of these actions are results of the initiative of party levels and organizations, and not the initiative of the managing cadres.

I think that one of the most urgent party tasks now is persevering efforts to reach the grassroots party members in factory party organizations, and to extensively inform them on the basics of the idea, principles and aims of the present economic reform and of the transformation of our sociopolitical life. Another task is to do all this in a language everyone can understand and one that is enriched by the facts from one's own enterprise. It is impossible to implement the ninth congress resolution without a general knowledge of it, because such knowledge is the necessary condition for accepting the party program and for organizing society for implementing the economic reform. When evaluating and screening the managing cadres, all party organizations and levels should adopt as one of the crucial elements of this evaluation the extent to which factory managements commit themselves to the party's information-propaganda and organizational activities with regard to the economic reform.

Economic policy must be feasible if it is going to be effective. Such policy favors the implementation of the economic reform. That is why we continue to watch with anxiety the development of the implementation of the operational plans. The unambiguous conclusion produced by this observation and by the increasingly frequent views of experts is that the full implementation of the 14 operational plans is impossible. That is why I think it is necessary to carry out another review of the production means assigned to the implementation of these plans, and to adopt a final decision -- on the strength on this review -- as to the number and nature of these plans.

In this difficult situation two issues will determine effective motivation for efficient activity and productive work, that is, for extensive understanding and support of the masses for the economic reform: the system of subsidies, which should be rational from the viewpoint of social aims and should not be in conflict with the economic reform, and the clear and equitable system of wages.

Accelerating the work on the countrywide reform of the wage system is an important demand today. Since working time is one of the simplest methods of tapping production reserves, we must promote political work among workforces to extend working time wherever this is economically justified and socially admissible and accepted. The wage system must also include a mechanism that eliminates common waste in one's job. The permanent incentives incorporated in the wage system will make it possible to individually evaluate performance in the same job and under the same conditions, thus putting an end to the egalitarian tendencies in the field of labor relations and to branch privileges.

The preliminary results of the national economy in the first quarter of this year show that, compared with the first quarter of 1981, production slumps went hand in hand with the population's increased incomes. The existence of this trend not only keeps away the moment at which we can achieve market equilibrium, but even makes impossible and annuls the present efforts made in favor of this equilibrium.

In this situation, only one conclusion is possible. Enterprises must maintain full fiscal discipline and respect the economic regimes resulting from the letter and spirit of the economic reform. This task must be accomplished despite the natural growing pressures on the part of society toward consistently large wage increases and even if our living standards have to be reduced below the orginally assumed level and extended beyond the originally assumed deadline. The party must now assume the difficult and unpleasant duty of convincing society of the necessity for such action.

PLANNING COMMISSION REPORT ON ECONOMY PUBLISHED

PM211503 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Apr 82 pp 4-5

[PAP report: "Report on the State of the Polish Economy at the End of 1981" -- first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The Council of Ministers Planning Commission has published a "Report on the State of the Economy at the End of 1981." We publish below a summary of the most important theses of this document. All comparisons mentioned in it relate to 1980 unless stated otherwise in the text.

I. Worsening of the Crisis and Its Causes

1. A "Government Report on the State of the Economy" was published in June 1981. The present report discusses the state of the economy at the end of 1981 against the background of the socioeconomic phenomena which occurred in the second half of 1980. Therefore, it relates to a period which was especially badly affected by the destructive phenomena which influenced the economic situation.

2. Regression of the national economy began to accelerate from the second half of 1980. It was especially pronounced in 1981. This was exemplified by a deterioration in all indicators contributing to the situation concerning material production. GDP [gross domestic product] fell 13 percent in 1981. Total socialized industrial production fell 11.2 percent. Foreign trade turnover decreased 20 percent during that period and investment outlays in the socialized economy fell 26.7 percent.

During the last 3 years GDP fell some 20 percent. The decrease in national income was accompanied by increased indebtness in terms of capitalist countries' foreign exchange which increased by some $3.5 billion -- at the 31 December 1981 exchange rate -- during 1981. Indebtedness in socialist countries' currencies increased by some R1.6 billion in 1981.

3. The economy was very badly affected by a considerable increase as from the second half of 1980, in wages, social benefits and other monetary incomes paid to the population, especially in view of the appearance of a series of phenomena exceptionally harmful to market supplies during that period. All this resulted in an increase in the gap between the population's income and supply.

The national income distribution policy was aimed at protecting consumption levels, and investment outlays were increasingly curtailed with a view to achieving this objective.

This considerable decrease in investments will affect any future opportunities for our economy.

However, in view of a considerable decrease in production and market supplies, it was impossible to prevent a fall in consumption in 1981 even though consumption paid for out of individual incomes was only slightly lower than in 1980. This was mainly a result of considerable imports of food -- despite a very difficult payments situation -- and also of an increase in natural consumption on farms.

4. The breakdown of the economy was a result of several interconnected causes:

First, the consequences of mistakes in economic policy and in the way in which the economy was managed in the seventies; and by structural disproportions in the spheres of production, investments, foreign trade and the domestic market.

Second, a sudden cut in working time which led to a big drop in production, especially in the raw material sectors of industry and, above all, in the coal mining industry (by some 19 percent). This led, among other things, to a fall in exports and the need to restrict imports.

Third, economically unjustified wage increases and social benefits granted under the pressure of demands backed by strike action. As a result, the population's monetary income increased some 27 percent during 1981 and, in view of a simultaneous fall in production and market supplies, this in turn led to a complete disorganization of the market, and, at the same time, to a gradual erosion of the incentive role of wages and of work discipline.

Fourth, the consequences of an indeed disastrously low crop harvest in 1980 were still being felt. As a result of the increasing disorganization of the domestic market during the fourth quarter of 1981, normal economic links between the cities and the rural areas were broken, and this led to a fall in supplies of basic agricultural products.

Fifth, the destructive influence on the state of the economy of those forces within the framework of NSZZ Solidarity which, turning economics into a political battlefield, advanced unrealistic demands, nurtured social tensions, organized strikes, impaired the effectiveness of -- and even completely paralyzed -- any specific action taken by the government and the economic administration aimed at checking a deepening regression of the economy. The destructive activities of those forces contributed to a sudden worsening of the crisis at the end of the fall of 1981. Those activities had also some indirect negative consequences, because they fostered and strengthened among a considerable section of the work force attitudes harmful to discipline and work productivity.

The anarchization of socioeconomic life harmed Poland's credibility as a payer on the international credit market and was responsible for an increase in the rates of interest which had to be paid on the loans incurred.

5. The economic situation was also affected by the activity of the state of the economic administration, which was inadequate in some sectors. The administration was unable to adapt its activities in all spheres to new needs and changed circumstances. It should be emphasized, however, that as social tensions and conflicts largely absorbed the administration's attention and restricted and even paralyzed its activities, prospects for the development of the economic situation were also appraised unduly optimistically. Activities aimed at implementing the program for overcoming the crisis approved by the Extraordinary Ninth PZPR Congress and the Sejm were insufficiently energetic and effective, especially with respect to the reorganization of industrial production from the viewpoint of food supplies and export needs.

6. Another aspect of the economic policy weakness during the past 18 months was the failure effectively to overcome the attitudes and activities of many branch and local pressure groups.

7. The efforts made by the government and its agencies helped to limit crisis phenomena in many economic sectors and safeguarded the living standards of the poorest families. In 1981, a draft of the principles to govern the economic reform was prepared and submitted for social consultation. After it was approved by the Ninth PZPR Congress and the Polish People's Republic Sejm, draft laws intended generally to govern the economy's new system of functioning were worked out.

8. A plan for overcoming the crisis and stabilizing the economy was prepared and the initial steps to implement it were taken. In accordance with that plan, the government's activities were concentrated on the solution of the most crucial economic and social problems. A number of decisions were adopted and steps were taken to increase agricultural production. In particular, much attention was paid to the creation of prerequisites for increasing coal extraction and improving miners' working and living conditions. Many steps were taken to resolve the country's complex payments situation. A number of operational activities were undertaken in order to prepare the economy and the communal infrastructure for the winter.

Steps were also taken to check the fall in the production of goods needed to meet some especially important social requirements including the health service, personal hygiene and so forth.

II. Material Production

Industry

9. From August 1980, industrial production began to steadily decrease. A big drop -- unprecedented since the war -- in productivity in industry, amounting to 14 percent compared with 1979, as well as a 22-percent drop in return on capital, also compared with 1979, were observed.

10. The drop in industrial production was mainly a result of a drop in productivity in the extraction industry as a consequence of a cut in working time. In 1981, 163 million tons of coal were extracted -- a drop of as much as 38 million tons compared with the peak output achieved in 1979. This drop in coal production led above all to a decrease in exports (from some 41 million tons in 1979 to some 15 million tons in 1981) and this in turn has led to the loss of a number of markets and to difficulties with respect to their recovery after output increases again.

The decrease in supplies to industry adversely affected output of a number of types of goods whose production requires large amounts of coal and power. Nor was individual farmers' demand for coal fully met.

The Ministry of Mining and Power Industry has reached the conclusion that, as a result of strikes and other social tensions, as well as of the boycott which affected voluntary work on work-free Saturdays, a total of some 9 million tons of coal were lost in 1981, that is, an amount which would have enabled us, among other things, to secure the equivalent of some $500 million from experts. This would have considerably mitigated our payments and import difficulties.

11. The curtailment of cooperation as well as of imports of raw materials and semifinished products from capitalist countries also contributed to a drop in industrial production.

12. In addition to inadequate supplies and to the cut in working time, a decrease in productivity and a deterioration in work discipline, which were a result of strikes and other social tensions in enterprises, were largely responsible for a drop in industrial production.

13. The production of most basic industrial goods was considerably lower in 1981 than in previous years. Compared with 1979, coal production decreased some 19 percent, laminated products 18.5 percent, zinc some 20 percent, lead some 18 percent, aluminum nearly 32 percent, cement some 26 percent, metal-cutting machine tools 23 percent, automobiles some 31 percent, television sets some 17 percent, tires some 27 percent, paper and cardboard some 9 percent, cotton and cotton-type fabrics some 11 percent, wool and woolen fabrics some 16 percent and footwear some 10 percent.

14. In view of increasing shortages in the supply and cooperation spheres, we were faced with the problem of rational distribution of raw materials and semifinished products in short supply.

A central, operational control system was established to deal with difficult sectors. An operational programs system was set up with a view to ensuring a minimum standard for the production of goods exceptionally important from the viewpoint of social needs.

15. Against the background of a big drop in industrial production, what should be emphasized is that much better results were achieved by small producers who, as a result of a resolution adopted by the government on 1 July 1981, have been working in accordance with new principles in keeping with the economic reform's theses. However, small producers have lately been increasingly badly affected by shortages in the supply sphere.

16. The situation in industry was aggravated as a result of the unsatisfactory quality of the goods produced.

17. The drop in production was accompanied by a deterioration in a number of economic industrial indicators. The ratio between labor productivity and wages in 1981 was especially unfavorable. Labor productivity fell more than 12 percent whereas average wages increased nearly 25 percent. The utilization of the production potential fell to some 60 percent in 1981.

18. In order to ensure a more effective utilization of production potential, steps were taken to develop economic cooperation with socialist countries, among other things, by jointly utilizing any hitherto unutilized industrial production capabilities through supplies of raw materials, semifinished products and cooperatively produced components by those countries. The limited commitment to cooperation of this kind by socialist countries during last year was connected, among other things, with the unstable sociopolitical situation which prevailed in Poland and consequently, with uncertainty with respect to our industry's ability to meet its obligations. Prospects for new agreements in this sphere have recently improved.

The Construction Industry

19. A very difficult situation continues to prevail in the construction industry. The targets fixed for the construction industry have not been achieved, even though they have been reduced year after year. From 1978 through 1981, labor productivity fell more than 24 percent. It is believed that throughout the country the surplus of people employed in the construction industry amounts to some 200,000 persons.

20. The production potential of construction and assembly enterprises, which was developed in the seventies to an extent currently exceeding the possibilities of material supplies, cannot be utilized at present. As a result of increasing inefficiency, economic results of the construction industry have gradually worsened. In 1981, the deficit incurred in the construction industry amounted to some Z57 billion, that is, it trebled compared with 1980.

Agriculture

21. As far as agriculture is concerned, disastrous harvests occurred in 1980. Crop production fell more than 15 percent compared with 1979, which was also a bad year. This led to difficulties with respect to fodder which, in turn, led to a breakdown in the spheres of livestock raising and state purchases.

22. In 1981, the political and state authorities took many steps to develop agriculture. The PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the ZSL National Committee Presidium jointly issued directives with respect to some crucial problems facing the agricultural policy, agriculture and the food economy. However, the steps taken in connection with those instructions failed to bring the expected results, mainly because extremist forces within NSZZ Solidarity carried the political struggle to rural areas. This struggle found its expression in the destructive activities of the individual farmers' NSZZ Solidarity, in inciting farmers to boycott sales of agricultural products to state purchasing centers, in attacking socialized farms (the strike in Zielona Gora Voivodship), in organizing strikes in various agricultural services units and, during the final period, also in sit-down strikes in district [Gminne] offices;

Disorganization of work at many district offices, regional agricultural services and technical-and-trade agricultural service units, as confirmed by military operational groups active in those areas;

And the severance of economic links between cities and rural areas as a result of a very big increase in the prices paid for agricultural products purchased in April 1981.

23. In 1981, the situation in the crop production sphere developed propitiously. It has been estimated that 19.7 million tons of grain were produced, that is, 1.4 million tons more than in 1980 and 230,000 tons more than the average production in the 1976-1980 period. Some 15.8 million tons of sugar beet were also produced. As a result, 1,722,000 tons of sugar were produced during the 1981-1982 campaign (compared with 1,038,000 tons in 1980). The potato (some 42.6 million tons) and vegetable (some 4.9 million tons) crops were also good, exceeding by one-third the low 1980 level. However, in certain spheres, including oilseed crops and fruit, the planned increase in production was not achieved.

24. According to a survey of livestock carried out in January 1982, the number of pigs has increased 1.7 percent and that of cattle 1.4 percent. Increases of 13.9 percent in the number of sows, 11.8 percent in piglets and 2.6 percent in cows on individual farms have been a positive development. An increase in stocks of home-produced fodder has made it possible to increase milk production and develop livestock raising, and this has been demonstrated by the fact that more milk has been purchased, that interest has been shown in calf rearing and that the prices of cows and heifers on the free market have considerably increased. Following a considerable deterioration in the yield of marketable grain as a result of insufficient purchases and uncertainty with respect to the implementation of the plan for imports of grain and fodder in the first half of 1982, as well as of the need to ensure above all a minimum amount of grain for consumption, the production of concentrated fodder mixtures, expecially for poultry, will fall considerably. As a result, the production of farm chicken eggs will be reduced and the production of broilers will gradually cease as from the second quarter.

25. In 1981, purchases of livestock for slaughter fell 26 percent in terms of meat compared with the previous year. In the second half of 1981, farmers' discipline with respect to the fulfillment of agreements on supplies of livestock for slaughter to state purchasing centers deteriorated. However, purchases of milk increased considerably in the last months of 1981.

26. Despite a relatively good harvest, purchases of grain for consumption amounted to 1.4 million tons by the end of December, compared with 2 million tons in the previous year. Some 1 million tons were needed to fulfill the plan for contracts between farmers and the government for the supply of agricultural products. Some 3.6 million tons of potatoes were purchased by the purchasing centers -- a considerable increase compared with the previous year.

In a number of cases farmers have held on to their grain, treating it as a kind of investment and, as a result, the price of grain on the free market is more than double that paid by state purchasing centers. In order to increase grain purchases, prices have been increased and so-called grain loans have been made available. To restore commercial links between the rural areas and the cities it is necessary to increase the supply of industrial products to the rural market for both investment and consumption purposes.

27. Despite difficulties, it proved possible to ensure an increase in the supplies of certain means of production for farmers in 1981. Supplies of fertilizers in the second half of 1981 were smaller than planned, and a reduction in the amount of fertilizers used for the 1982 crops must be expected.

Forestry

28. One of the features of the forestry situation was the fact that, as a result of excessive felling of trees in previous years and delays in the cultivation of standing timber, opportunities for securing high-grade assortments of large size timber have decreased.

29. In 1981, an unprecedented threat to forests has been posed by a noxious insect -- namely, the Nun Tussock-Moth [Brudnica Mniszka]. An already dangerous situation in the forests was made even worse by a natural disaster in the form of damage caused by the violent storms which occurred in November 1981.

30. Regression in the sphere of industrial production and investments has resulted in a considerable fall in demand for transport services. In 1981, the amount of rail freight fell some 17 percent and the amount of freight carried by road by the state motor transport fell by as much as 30 percent.

31. The underdevelopment of the technical and exploitation services, which are able to cope with only some 80 percent of needs in the sphere of repairs, continues to represent a big problem as far as transport activities are concerned. Improvement in the technical state of railroad tracks, locomotives and freightcars is a problem of paramount importance.

32. Reduction in the foreign trade turnover has led to a decrease in utilization of the transshipping facilities of ports and the shipping capacity of the merchant fleet. Sea shipments were reduced more than 19 percent and transshipments at commercial sea ports 39 percent in 1981.

33. The development of communications in general and of the telephone network and the postal service in particular has lagged behind that of other economic sectors.

III. Employment

34. In the sphere of socialized economy there has been on the one hand a surplus of labor, especially in the processing and construction industries, and, on the other, a shortage of labor, particularly in the mining industry, the food industry, forestry, transport, communications and some other sectors of the nonproduction [niematerialna] sphere. The implementation of a plan for resolving this crisis by moving labor from one sector to another has been delayed. The average number of people working for the socialized economy totaled 12,028,000 in 1981 -- an increase of 28,000 compared with 1980.

In view of the drop in production in industry and construction, if labor productivity in those sectors in 1981 had been maintained at the 1980 level, the total number of people employed should have decreased by some 800,000.

35. In 1981, working time was utilized less effectively than before and labor discipline deteriorated. Time off work per capita in the industrial and development sectors increased from 227 hours to 246 hours, that is, more than 8 percent. The amount of sick leave taken and the number of unjustified absences from duty and paid layoffs increased. Loss of working time as a result of workers' late arrival at and early leaving of their place of work increased. Disruptions of production rhythm as a result of shipping during working hours was a quite general phenomenon. Conferences and meetings organized by public institutions and organizations and trade unions were also responsible for a large number of unjustified absences.

IV. The Populations' Monetary Incomes and the Market Situation

36. In the seventies, incomes policy was already disconnected from the development of social labor productivity. A number of decisions adopted in 1980-1981 which led to increases in the population's incomes contributed to strengthening an illusory and harmful belief among a considerable sector of the population that wages and incomes could be freely increased by the authorities, on which pressure could be exerted through, among other things, strikes or threats of strike.

This was one way in which Solidarity as well as other trade unions exerted pressure.

As a result of decisions on wage increases, annual wages increased by some Z280 billion, including Z168 billion in 1981. In 1981 average wages in the socialized economy amounted to Z7,250. That is, Z1,461 -- or 25.2 percent -- more than in 1980. These big wage increases took place at a time when social labor productivity was falling 16 percent and the volume of the supply of goods and services decreased.

Wages in the production sectors increased especially rapidly, whereas wages in the scientific and administrative sectors increased relatively slowly. Wage increases took place in a way unconnected with work results. Factors which have set a trend toward wage increases are still in operation.

After August 1980 decisions were also taken which led to an increase in social monetary benefits.

Furthermore, at the beginning of 1981 a number of prices paid by state purchasing centers were increased, whereas prices of agricultural production resources were not increased accordingly at the same time. As a result, incomes of the population in the agricultural sector increased very rapidly and exceeded for the first time the incomes of people employed in other sectors. However, a simultaneous drop in the supply of agricultural production resources and industrial products on the rural market reduced the significance of the incentive represented by the increases in prices paid at purchasing centers, and this in turn led to a quantitative drop in the amount of products sold at purchasing centers.

The monetary incomes of the population increased by some Z145 billion, that is, some 11 percent, in 1980 and by more than Z437 billion, that is nearly 27 percent, in 1981.

37. On the threshold of 1982, the main feature of the monetary and market situation of the country was the fact that the market had been disorganized as a result of a deep disproportion between the amount of money held by the population and the amount of goods available for sale. If the price reform had not been carried out, this disproportion would have further rapidly increased as a result of the widening gap between the population's monetary incomes and the supply of goods and services.

As a result of the rapid increase in the population's monetary incomes, market supplies steadily worsened. In order to ensure supplies of basic products -- even if only in minimal quantities in view of the existing possibilities with respect to supplies -- it was necessary to introduce coupons for the purchase of a number of food products and later also of certain condiments and personal hygiene articles. The food market became in fact disorganized. In the second half of 1981, the market in industrial products also became disorganized. Despite the authorities' preventive action, speculation and a "black market" developed.

38. In view of the widening gap between the population's incomes and the supplies of goods as well as of the weakening of economic links between cities and rural areas, the role of the zloty as legal tender became largely restricted. The fact that the rate of exchange of the dollar broke all records on the black market and that domestic appliances, textiles, footwear and many other industrial products, among other things, were being bought up wholesale show that the zloty was shunned.

At the same time, the increase in the population's monetary incomes was so much bigger that during 1981 the community's monetary resources increased by Z284 billion, of which the increase in cash resources amounted to nearly 40 percent.

39. In order to reduce the existing disproportion between monetary incomes and supplies of goods steps were taken, in accordance with decisions adopted by the central authorities, to increase the prices of certain articles (grain products, alcoholic beverages, tobacco products and liquid and other fuel).

Many other prices which had been fixed at lower levels, market prices and so forth were also increased. According to the Central Office of Statistics, the cost of living increased 25 percent in 1981 and 36 percent during the last 2 years.

However, prices as a whole increased less than provided for in the government plan for overcoming the crisis. Because of the general sociopolitical situation and, especially, because of the protracted tempo of consultations, which were delayed by the trade unions, the main stage of the reform of retail prices was implemented only after the introduction of martial law. In this way one of the essential prerequisites for an improvement in the market situation was created. However, to achieve a lasting improvement it is necessary above all to increase the production of goods and services.

V. Foreign Trade and the Payments Situation

40. The main features of the foreign trade situation have been a sharp drop in exports to both socialist and capitalist countries and the maintenance of imports from socialist countries at a level similar to that prevailing in previous years, combined with a sharp drop in imports from capitalist countries. The drop in exports was mainly a result of a reduction in the production of essential raw materials and semifinished products.

As a result of the fact that obligations were not met, trade agreements remained unfulfilled and no signs emerged of a lasting increase in exports. Opportunities for obtaining credits were reduced. At the same time it was necessary to impose some quite drastic import restrictions. All in all, exports (according to current prices) dropped some 15 percent, that is, by some 10 percent to socialist countries and by more than 20 percent to capitalist countries.

41. Imports decreased 12.2 percent. A considerable drop in the imports of raw materials, semifinished products and both spares and coproduce [kooperacyjne] parts for industry might have resulted in an even bigger drop in the 1981 industrial production, but it proved possible to limit the extent of that danger by developing the production of articles whose manufacture required a smaller amount of imported products as well as through obligatory changes in assortments which, however, led to a deterioration in the quality of the goods produced. Those spheres and sectors of industry which mainly relied on imports from socialist countries experienced supply difficulties to a much lesser extent.

42. Poland's trade turnover with capitalist countries has rearly been balanced. However, statistical data with respect to payments concerning actual receipts stemming from imports and payments for imports show a deficit amounting to some $0.7 billion. The trade balance with socialist countries was also adverse, increasing from R0.8 billion in 1980 to R1.6 billion in 1981, due more or less entirely to trade with the USSR. In 1981 imports from the USSR exceeded exports to the USSR by some 1.5 billion transfer rubles. The USSR has expressed its willingness to grant us bank credits to cover those amounts, to be repaid in the course of 5 years starting from 1986 at a 5-percent annual interest rate. The total of Poland's debts to socialist countries -- nearly all of them being due to the USSR -- amounted to R3.1 billion at the end of 1981. Furthermore, the trade protocol for 1982 provides for imports from the USSR exceeding our exports by 1.2 billion transfer rubles. In addition, all CEMA member states expressed their willingness to concentrate 25-30 percent of all their supplies in the first quarter of this year -- a period especially difficult for us. This will represent an important contribution to mitigating the extent of the difficulties felt by our economy.

43. Our country's balance of payments with respect to capitalist countries is the most difficult we have ever experienced.

At the end of 1980, Poland's debts in the currencies of capitalist countries amounted to some $24.6 billion at the exchange rate prevailing at that time and to some $22 billion at the exchange rate prevailing on 31 December 1981. During 1981, Poland was supposed to pay out a total of $8.8 billion in loan repayments and interest, whereas the value of Polish exports to capitalist countries amounted to some $8 billion. So the amount of so-called fixed payments exceeded the amount of money earned through exports, and consequently all the imports required to meet the economy's current needs could only be ensured either by means of new credits or by falling behind with the repayments on our debts. These were the circumstances under which talks were initiated with our creditors with a view to postponing the repayments due in 1981.

As a result of these talks, agreements were signed with the creditors whose loans were guaranteed by the governments of capitalist countries. The principle was adopted that 90 percent of the payments of interest due (amounting to some 30 percent of all interest due) and capital repayments were to be postponed. During talks with private banks an agreement was reached on rescheduling 95 percent of capital repayments. The remaining 5 percent of capital repayments were to be paid during 1981. Interest payments, however, were to be neither postponed nor rescheduled. The postponed commitments will be repaid in the course of 4 years as from 1986. Wishing to improve its relations in the payments sphere with creditor countries, most of which belong to the IMF, Poland applied for membership in that organization in 1981.

At the end of 1981, Poland's debt in the currencies of capitalist countries amounted to $25.5 billion. The increase in debts was a result of the need to obtain new credits to finance both imports and our payment commitments to our Western creditors, even though we were unable to keep to all our payment deadlines -- even those already postponed. Also in 1982 we will be under an obligation to make further repayments whose total considerably exceeds our payment capabilities.

Our present situation with respect to payments has been rendered even more difficult by the fact that, following the introduction of martial law in Poland, the United States has initiated a policy of economic restrictions in the form of reduction in supplies and credits for Poland. In view of the prevailing scarcity of foreign exchange, this has largely limited in practice our present possibilities of importing from capitalist countries and made them almost totally dependent on current revenue from exports of our goods.

VI. Investments

44. In our investment activities, a wide gap has continued to prevail between the resources which could be earmarked for continuing and completing projects already started in the sphere of investment construction and the requirements of these projects' implementation consistent with the cycles fixed.

At the end of 1981, investments whose value was estimated at Z2.09 trillion were being implemented. The completion of those investment projects required an expenditure amounting to Z1,292 billion (at 1978 prices) -- so-called investment commitments -- during the coming years, including Z450 billion in 1981 in accordance with the normative implementation cycles. Our economic potential in the investment sphere -- as determined by the amount of national revenue and the economic situation prevailing at the beginning of 1981 -- amounted to Z320 billion but fell to Z270 billion as a result of increasing economic difficulties mainly stemming from the fact that the amount of coal extracted was lower than expected.

45. In view of the situation, steps were taken to restrict investments and concentrate our slender material resources on the implementation of a smaller number of projects in spheres deemed to deserve priority and of projects which would give quicker results.

But, despite these steps, the situation on the investment front cannot be deemed to have been brought under control. That front continues to be excessively broad in relation to our current investment capabilities. Furthermore, the structure of the investment front is unfavorable.

Talks are being held with CEMA member states on the subject of establishing cooperation with a view to continuing the development of certain projects, enabling those countries to utilize the machinery and equipment purchased by the Polish People's Republic which are either not in use or have not been installed or to providing services in the construction and assembly sphere by Polish construction organizations.

46. As a result of a consdierable reduction in investments, it has also become necessary to reduce investments in the sphere of public consumption in general and with respect to housing projects in particular.

VII. The Housing and Communal Economy

47. The housing situation has deteriorated both in the cities and in the rural areas. In the sphere of national economy, 183,000 homes representing a floor area of 11.7 million square meters have been completed -- 47,000 homes with a floor area amounting to 2.6 million square meters fewer than planned.

The number of households now exceeds the number of homes by some 1.8 million. In 1981, the number of members of cooperatives and adult candidates waiting for homes increased by some 100,000 and now amounts altogether to some 1.7 million people. Home construction has failed to keep pace with public needs and the number of homes made ready for occupation has dropped down to the 1967 level, that is, a level existing 14 years ago.

48. The state of the communal economy in the country is unsatisfactory. An acute crisis has become apparent in the cities -- in many spheres of the communal economy and, especially, in the sphere of city transport.

In 25 city agglomerations, a deficit in heating has occurred as a result of delays in the construction and development of heat and power generating plants and heating plants.

Furthermore, some other spheres of the communal economy have failed to improve tangibly because of insufficient equipment, and transport facilities as well as of their technical condition. As a result of exceedingly slow progress in the construction of communal and industrial sewage purification plants, waters are becoming increasingly polluted, especially close to the Baltic Coast.

VIII. Social and Cultural Activities

Social Services

49. In the sphere of social policy, activities have been undertaken with a view to protecting those groups of people who have been especially likely to find their living conditions difficult as a result of the breakdown of the economy. This applies in particular to those categories of the population whose incomes are low, to large families, to old-age and other pensioners and to older and disabled people.

The minimum monthly wage has been increased from Z2,400 to Z3,300. A three-stage family grant reform has been initiated. Child care grants for mothers availing themselves of unpaid child care leave have been introduced. Decisions were made with a view to supplying children under 1 year of age with milk powder and children between 1 and 3 with milk with a higher fat content. The supply of hygiene products, nutrients and vitamins has also been ensured for children.

As far as care for old people and for combat and labor veterans are concerned, their retirement and other pensions were substantially increased in 1981. More than 95 percent of those pensioners have benefited from these measures. In order to protect people unable to look after themselves, supplements to retirement and other pensions drawn by first-category disabled people and people over 80 have been increased in 1982. Furthermore, grants paid within the framework of public assistance have been increased.

However, the standard of living of a number of old age and other pensioners and of families entitled to receive family allowances has been neither improved nor even maintained, despite the fact that expenditure has sharply increased. Proportionally, minimum benefits have increased most, but their level has remained low.

Health Protection

50. The conditions under which the health service works, as explained in the "Government Report on the State of the Economy," have not altered substantially. Despite the difficult situation in which the health service and social assistance had to work, the community's state of health has not deteriorated. In some spheres some positive results have been achieved.

Culture and Arts

51. As far as the cultural sphere and the arts are concerned, the production of a number of items for cultural use has regressed despite the fact that many creative sectors have developed and that access to cultural values has generally been facilitated.

Education and Training

52. In the education sphere, certain problems and difficulties emerged which will have to be resolved gradually in the course of the coming years. It became clear that the structural reform of the education system which was initiated exceeded both the state's economic capabilities and the organizational effectiveness of the regional educational authorities. In this connection, a program reform of the school system is being implemented through, among other things, a gradual introduction of new teaching programs into elementary schools and the introduction of history lessons into secondary vocational schools.

53. A number of alarming phenomena have recently become apparent in connection with the training given in vocational schools attached to enterprises, which are attended by 35 percent of secondary vocational school students. Because of overmanning, a trend toward giving up the management of those schools has frequently appeared.

The teacher's charter, which has been adopted by the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, should become an important factor in any improvement in the education and training sphere.

Science and Technology

54. The contribution of research and development agencies to the process of emergence from the economic crisis has been inadequate in relation to their potential as a result of an insufficiently strong connection between the subject of their work and the current requirements of the economy and also of their inadequate initiating activities.

IX. State Finances

55. The state of the country's finances has deteriorated as a result of the economic crisis. The financial difficulties of specialized enterprises have increased as a result of the fact that their activities have become increasingly ineffective.

As a result of these developments, financial accumulation in those enterprises diminished increasingly rapidly in 1981 and since May has been converted into a growing deficit. The total financial deficit of socialized enterprises throughout 1981 has been assessed at some Z100 billion.

The main source of revenue, that is financial accumulation in enterprises, has diminished. As a result, the 1981 budget showed a deficit amounting to Z148 billion.

The size of the budget deficit was also largely affected by a considerable increase in expenditure connected with the financing of social services and sociocultural installations as well as by supplying additional finance for the economic activities of enterprises at a time when budget expenditure for economic development was being restricted.

The economic reform, and changes in supply and retail prices as well as in foreign exchange rates have created prerequisites for giving reality to cost computation and for a correct determination of the financial results of enterprises.

X. Footnotes

56. In many sectors, the introduction of martial law has led to a change of conditions under which the national economy operates. A number of factors responsible for the worsening of the economic crisis have been eliminated. Activities leading to anarchy in the life of production enterprises have been stopped. Order and labor discipline have improved in all economic activities.

Those sectors of the processing industry whose production is largely dependent on imports from capitalist countries have continued to be in a difficult situation. Difficulties in those sectors have increased as a result of the introduction by the United States and certain other countries influenced by the United States of economic sanctions in the form of restrictions imposed on the granting of new credits and of curbs on the purchase of certain raw materials, including grain and fodder.

57. Steps have been taken to develop and expand cooperation with the economy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with a view to overcoming difficulties with respect to supplies for the processing industry and utilizing more effectively its productive potential. They have mitigated the negative consequences of the economic restrictions imposed by capitalist countries and stimulated production.

58. In the long run, an extensive switch-over of the economy toward a greater reliance on the national resources as well as toward lasting and close links with the economies of CEMA countries is bound to prove the most effective way of extricating the country from the crisis.

59. At the threshold of 1982, the government has taken up problems which have been awaiting a solution for several years or even a decade or more. This should decisively affect the country's economic situation. These are the problems under consideration:

1) With respect to the market -- first of all, the question of a reform of the retail prices of food products in conjunction with compensation as well as new principles for the determination of the prices of industrial products.

2) With respect to the functioning of industry, the construction industry and other economic sectors -- the question of the new supply prices and the new principles to govern financing and incentives as well as the elements of the economic reform which are now put into practice, which are of determining importance.

3) The question of a gradual introduction of changes into the organization and operations of the central and the regional state and economic administration in conjunction with a review and verification of cadres.

60. The aim of all the projects mentioned in the current socioeconomic plans and of the steps which are now being taken by the government is to check as soon as possible the present downward trends in the economy and to achieve in the second half of 1982 at the latest, both through our own efforts and through the aid received from fraternal socialist countries, economic expansion which should later be consolidated and developed. In the long run, the government will seek to achieve profound structural transformations of the economy with a view to increasing its effectiveness and its resistance to the negative consequences of outside activities.

A comprehensive report on both planned and current steps leading toward this objective will be included in the "program for overcoming the crisis" which is now being prepared and updated.

LE MONDE INTERVIEWS SOLIDARITY LEADER BUJAK

PM281421 Paris LE MONDE in French 28 Apr 82 pp 1,7

[Bernard Guetta dispatch: "Political Cooperation Starts Between Solidarity and Polish Church"]

[Text] Warsaw -- Under the cloak of martial law political cooperation is slowly but surely starting between the two major social forces in Poland: the church and Solidarity. It is not the start of a real organized and coordinated front: the clandestine reorganization of the trade union apparatus is still much too inadequate, the situation too vague and the Episcopate too anxious to consider all its steps thoroughly for that prospect to be foreseeable or even credible.

It is simply -- although that outlines a new political prospect -- a gradual convergence of attitudes and statements toward the regime. This change, which is based on the continuing hardening of the Catholic hierarchy's line and the trade union leaders' need to form part of a long term strategy, has every chance of growing stronger.

First the church. Immediately after martial law was introduced it tried for nearly 2 months to negotiate conditions for a very rapid lifting of martial law. At that time the church expressed its grief and anxiety but refrained from open condemnation which would be likely to stir up strong feelings. The hierarchy, posing as intermediary, preached considerable concessions to the trade unionists and tried to have them accepted by the authorities. The essential idea was to end the trade union's "suspension" in exchange for the departure of those trade union leaders regarded as "extremists" and for a change in the rules, replacing the regional structures with organization by profession. That approach was rejected out of hand by the government.

The turning point started to come when the primate went to the Vatican at the beginning of February for the first time since 13 December. The pope, receiving Solidarity representatives in foreign countries during Monsignor Glemp's visit, spoke out clearly against any form of negotiation calling into question the achievements of the Gdansk agreements.

At the end of February the Polish episcopal conference condemned the "moral, social and economic disaster" caused by the coup d'etat. The sermons became tougher each Sunday and on 5 April the primate distributed in all dioceses a long document written by his "social council" and which is a calm demand for the rights -- all of them without exception -- which have been abolished by the coup d'etat. That document, entitled "Theses on Social Harmony" goes so far as to call for freedom of candidacy in regional elections.

We are seeing real "witness" in the evangelical sense of the word, but it is nonetheless really a dream. Harmony, it states, should make it possible to "strengthen the structures of the state and the system," whose "requirements" as well as those of the international alliances must be "understood by society."

The trade union, for its part, is criticized for failing, despite its "efforts," to resist the pressure of social and political demands from its grass roots, therefore it is not full freedom which is being requested but all the freedoms which are compatible with the Warsaw Pact's fundamental interests.

The authors of those "theses," the members of the primate's social council, are all Catholic intellectuals who are members of Solidarity or are close to it, and many were Solidarity advisers. Most of them belong to the sphere of influence of the Znak group and of the Catholic intellectuals clubs and to the personalist current of Polish Catholicism of which Cardinal Wojtyla was the active supporter and which spread in the trade union.

By committing itself as it is now doing, the heirarchy is also relieving itself of direct temporal responsibility which does not belong to it and which was eventually likely to threaten its cohesion. It is doing so by creating, under the system of controlled autonomy, what can only be called the nucleus of a Catholic political movement, because "social councils" are now being formed in each diocese and even in many parishes. The aspect which that force will assume is uncertain, but the political scene is changing here too and being reshaped around Solidarity -- the ever-present absentee.

Now for the trade union. A meeting had been arranged for one afternoon last week in one of the many Warsaw apartments "made available" by their tenants. It was attended by one of the most important trade union leaders to have escaped the militia's searches -- Mr Bujak -- 28-year old worker from the Ursus factories and chairman of Solidarity's Warsaw organization. There minor facial details have been changed and it is difficult to recognize him at first.

There are, he said, "groups of militants" in every region, although that does not mean that Solidarity has been formed again throughout the country. In Lodz and Katowice the militia have "smashed" the trade union's structures, it is only just reemerging in Poznan and it has been consolidated in Szczecin. It is in the factories in the Wroclaw region that the organization is strongest, but Warsaw (where there are "around 10,000 active militants"), Gdansk (where "the military art is being studied") and Krakow have also withstood the blow.

"The militants," Mr Bujak continued, "tend to overestimate the situation. If I were to believe all that people say I would have to believe that everybody is ready for a general strike. In fact people are very favorable to any kind of 'passive action,' but they think at the same time that it is necessary to prepare for strikes but to clearly see the significance they would have. There is also a strong tendency to want a compromise, an agreement which enables the trade union to resume its place." The go-slow which was "widely used in the weeks following the coup d'etat, is now no longer a major phenomenon because disciplinary measures have succeeded in limiting it."

On the other hand, he stated "we can be sure that there will be considerable sabotage in the colonized factories -- in other words those allocated to subcontracting work for the economies of other countries in the bloc."

What is described as "resistance" in conversations, primarily because of the impressive growth of the clandestine press which is very well organized, seems in Mr Bujak's descriptions much more like a flourishing vague nebula which has the advantage, he thinks, of being difficult for the police to dismantle. "In Warsaw," he said, "elements of trade union organization are operating in the factories, but they are really only being formed gradually around spontaneous and very different initiatives." At the same time there are militant groups and factories, one of which has contacts with several other regions. These "underground structures" distribute tasks among teams which are in charge of the press, material aid to internees and people who have been sacked, or of the posting and distributing of leaflets. In Worclaw and Warsaw "Solidarity discussion groups" have been formed and "group militants from different circles -- this is very important -- carry out the collection of subscriptions and make it possible to follow the development of opinions."

But, according to Mr Bujak, the most widespread activity is ostracizing collaborators who, when they are denounced by posters, moderate their revanchist ardor. "The managers," he continued, "know who is behind all that but they usually do nothing and do not even try to restore contact with the militants responsible. The military commissioners are usually very isolated, do not have any real function and in fact upset everybody, especially the managers."

Against the Centralization of Resistance

Mr Bujak's main fear, and in that he shares the church's concerns, is that the progress in organizing the clandestine movement might lead to a centralization of decisionmaking which would logically lead to planning head-on struggles with the government. He advocates "position struggle" leading to "such universal resistance that it will create a social life independent of the government" and constructed around "social aid committees," the clandestine press and books or even a workers' university, which is already beginning to be set up.

There is only one situation in which he would advocate a general strike call: the dissolution of Solidarity. He intends to aim at national accord on the basis of the church's "theses," "although there is little hope." "I would not like anybody to be able to think," he added, "if there were an explosion that we had not made every effort to reach a compromise."

Some sections of the government, he reluctantly confided, seem to be seeking contact, but it is still difficult to know whether these are serious approaches or merely diversionary tactics. Meanwhile the Gdansk, Warsaw, Wroclaw, and Krakow representatives are due to meet before the end of this month to establish a national coordination, which Mr Bujak does not want to be a "leadership" because that would merely prompt people to "await orders." Like the church he is reckoning with a "long and subtle effort."

When he arrived in Rome for his second meeting with the pope on Monday Monsignor Glemp said that he was "fairly worried." His meeting with General Jaruzelski the previous day had not been a dialogue but the juxtaposition of two monologues which was strained at times. The question now is whether the persistent and orchestrated rumors about forthcoming "mass releases" will materialize in a significant enough way to reduce the tension slightly.

PZPR-ZSL-SD COOPERATION COMMISSION MEETS

LD281808 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] A meeting of the joint PZPR-ZSL-SD Cooperation Commission took place today at the building of the ZSL Supreme Committee. During the meeting the current situation in the country was discussed. It was agreed that overcoming the current difficulties demands joint efforts by the entire nation. Representatives of the leaderships of the political parties confirmed that the PZPR, the ZSL and the SD stand firm on the patriotic idea of national accord as the means of constructive relations with all social forces which recognize and observe the superiority of the interests of the socialist state. It was recognized that implementation of this idea is a condition for internal calm, for leading the country out of the crisis, for continuation of socialist renewal, and for the further successful development of Poland.

Representing the PZPR were: Wojciech Jaruzelski, Kazimierz Barcikowski, Stefan Olszowski, Czeslaw Kiszczak, Zbigniew Michalek; from the ZSL were: Roman Malinowski, Jerzy Szymanek, Jerzy Grzybczak, Jozef Kijowski, Jozef Koziol, Waldemar Winkiel; from the SD were: Edward Kowalczyk, Jozef Eljasiewicz, Jan Fajecki, Jozef Musiol, Alfred Beszterda and Marek Wieczorek.

EDUCATION MINISTER REPLACED BY TEOREANU

AU281723 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] By presidential decree Comrade Anteta Spornic has been relieved as minister of education and instruction. By the same decree, Comrade Ion Teoreanu has been relieved as vice chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology and appointed minister of education and instruction.

CPCZ'S BILAK PAYS FRIENDSHIP VISIT 28 APRIL

AU281847 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1833 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Bucharest, 28 Apr (AGERPRES) -- Virgil Cazacu, member of the Political Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, met Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium, secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, who pays a visit of friendship to Romania as guest of the CC of the RCP.

During the talks, they appreciated the ever upward course of the traditional relations between the two parties, countries and peoples, In the spirit of esteem, mutual regard, of the meetings and talks between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania, and Gustav Husak, secretary-general of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, president of Czechoslovakia, in the interests of the Romanian and Czechoslovak peoples, of the cause of socialism, peace, disarmament, security and national independence, of international cooperation and collaboration. Aspects of the international life were also approached.

CEAUSESCU SEES USSR ENVOY AT LATTER'S REQUEST

AU281722 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, today received Vasiliy Ivanovich Drozdenko, ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest, at the latter's request. The ensuing talk took place in a comradely atmosphere.

BURTICA, BULGARIA'S KHRISTOV HOLD ECONOMIC TALKS

AU271912 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 27 Apr 82

[Text] Bucharest, 27 Apr (BTA) — On April 26 and 27 this year a working meeting was held in Bucharest between the Bulgarian minister of foreign trade, Mr Khristo Khristov and the prime deputy minister of the Romanian Government and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, Mr Cornel Burtica. Minister Khristo Khristov was received by Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of Romania.

The ministers of foreign trade of Bulgaria and Romania analysed the state of foreign trade relations between the two countries and outlined concrete measures for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the 1982 trade envisaged for 1982 and the whole five-year period. The two countries think that there exist possibilities for the expansion of mutual deliveries of goods expecially in the sphere of the chemical industry, metallurgy and the light industry.

Special attention was paid to the maintenance of the mutually exchanged machines and equipment. It was decided to open a new service in Ruse for the "Roman" self-dumpers imported from Bulgaria's northern neighbour. Also on the agenda was the activity of the joint commercial society "Dunav" and measures were outlined for the activization of the cooperation on the markets of third countries.

The talks between Minister Khristo Khristov and his Romanian counterpart Mr Cornel Burtica proceeded in businesslike and creative atmosphere.

PRESIDENCY SESSION ON INDIA TIES, PARDONS

LD281826 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1250 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Apr (TANJUG) -- The SFRY Presidency held a session in Belgrade today with Sergej Kraigher in the chair. The Presidency considered and endorsed a report on the visit which Neelam Sanjiva Reddy, president of the Republic of India, will shortly pay to our country. The visit will provide an opportunity for talks on the further development of friendly relations and cooperation between Yugoslavia and India and for an exchange of views on the international situation and topical problems confronting the nonaligned countries and movement before the seventh conference of the heads of state or government of nonaligned countries. The Presidency also passed a decision to pardon a number of convicted persons. The presidency also considered a number of other questions wtihin its constitutional sphere of competence.

IRAQI PRESIDENT SENDS MESSAGE TO KRAIGHER

AU280934 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Apr 82 p 7

[Text] Belgrade -- Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, received in Belgrade yesterday Hasan 'Ali al-Amiri, member of the Iraqi Revolutionary Council and minister of trade, who delivered a message from Iraqi President Saddam Husayn to the SFRY Presidency. Zvone Dragan, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, attended the reception.

MONTENEGRO LC CONGRESS CONCLUDES 28 APR

LD281620 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0944 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Excerpts] Titograd, 28 Apr (TANJUG) -- In the Commission for the Development of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management of the Eighth Congress of the Montenegro League of Communists today there was discussion on the basic congress documents as well as on a series of issues connected with the development of self-management, the work of the delegate system, and the work and place of League of Communists basic organizations. Many delegates made a number of suggestions and gave their assessments about many issues, emphasizing the need to further strengthen self-management and self-management relations as the basic element in overcoming existing difficulties.

The information media have been accepted as a necessity and necessary weapon in the struggle for the development of socialist self-management democracy, said delegate Marko Spadijer. Spadijer presented his view that there is good information about Montenegro in other environments, but also sensationalism and a paternalistic attitude. However, this does not mean that one should submit to those who, seeking to react to this, force euphoric discussions and the promotion of nationalism.

Nurija Cosovic emphasized the need for intensive ideopolitical education of communists, for this work up to now has not been sufficiently linked with the real needs of the development of society and the system.

Statutory Commission

LD282100 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Excerpts] Titograd, 28 Apr (TANJUG) -- The problems we are faced with today and the obligations which await us demand a decisive struggle for the ideopolitical and action unity of the League of Communists, it was stated at the session of the Commission for the Development of the League of Communists and Statutory Questions. Of course, this unity must be built up through the daily activity of communists in self-management, social and sociopolitical organizations and communities. This warning is all the more important as, in the opinion of the delegates, there are still quite a number of examples of the party's operating from positions of authority or as a transmission belt in respect to other sociopolitical organizations.

A number of delegates talked about manifestations of abuse of social position, corruption, the misappropriation of social property and other irregularities. Initiating action against this kind of anti-socialist phenomena, the League of Communists has often failed to go the whole way, noted one participant in the discussion. It is not rare for the cause of inconsistency in these actions to be personal interest and the desire to protect individuals. However, not only have communists not been sufficiently decisive in wiping out this kind of conduct but they themselves have often "sponsored" it, either being perpetrators themselves by merely turning a blind eye to it.

Several delegates spoke about the admission into the membership of the League of Communists and expressed satisfaction with the results achieved in this sphere in the inter-congress period. But they also indicated certain weaknesses, such as the phenomena of mass and campaign-type admission into the League of Communists, insufficient ideological work with the newly admitted members and the like. Stress was placed on the need for realizing a workers' majority in the League of Communists and the demand for the greater admission of women, individual agricultural producers and members of the nationalities which live in Montenegro. Great stress was laid in the discussion on the need for faster, more complete and more responsible informing of the organizations and organs of the League of Communists and society as a whole. In this connection it was underlined that the good results should be stressed and affirmed as a stimulus to new efforts and achievements. But we have no need for the embellishment of the true situation, for this is disinformation and leads to misguided social action.

Economic Commission

LD282044 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1004 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Excerpts] Titograd, 28 Apr (TANJUG) -- The condition for the successful implementation of the economic stabilization policy is the maximum commitment of every individual at his place of work. This was noted in the debate at the session of the Commission for Socioeconomic Relations and Questions of Socioeconomic Development. In the debate last night and today, a whole series of problems were raised, the solution of which demands greater commitment of the League of Communists. Employment, coordination of the system of education and upbringing with the needs of associated labor, the development of agriculture and more efficient economic activity are only some of the subjects discussed.

The resolution of our congress must be decisive in its demand for greater responsibility in every place and at every level. There are considerable problems and antisocialist antiself-managing phenomena in our society. However, when they are talked about, everything is generally reduced to the well-known formulation of "some people," "in some environments" and so forth. When workers are, for instance, short of steel, they know exactly which kind and what designation and, therefore, Blagoje Lucic stressed, responsibility should also be readily identifiable.

Branislav Soskic advocated energetic changes in our economic policy. He stressed that these changes need not mean a change in the foundations of our self-managing economic system but a theoretical and practical reaffirmation of these foundations in the direction of strengthening the positions and the role of associated labor. This, according to Soskic, means reducing the state administrative measures and allowing the fullest possible activity of economic laws and market mechanisms. Self-managing and social agreements are also necessary, Soskic believes. But they should not and cannot by any stretch of imagination replace objective economic laws and healthy market competition, in particular in the sphere of price formation. In this sense, social agreements too should combat the existing monopolist positions and semi-monopolist prices.

Criticizing the compromise nature and unrealistic practice of self-managing agreement-reaching and social negotiations, Niko Raznjatovic pointed out the need for a real grasp of the possibilities of associated labor and for adhering to economic laws. The vacuum which, in his words, arises due to the inefficient self-managing democratic form and its substance, is filled by the state with its measures. This curbs the role of the market which, in turn, negates the existence of priorities and other criteria for investments and all other economic decisions.

In the speeches in the debate at this commission, at which over 60 delegates spoke, problems of business activity in such individual economic branches as agriculture, tourism and marine transport were discussed.

Nominations, Commission Reports

LD282210 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1334 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Excerpts] Titograd, 28 Apr (TANJUG) -- Immediately following the conclusion of the debate in the commissions, the Eighth Congress of the Montenegro League of Communists continued its work in plenary session at which Omer Kurpejovic submitted the report of the Nomination Commission. He informed the delegates and guests that the Nomination Commission for the organs of the Montenegro League of Communists proposed 73 candidates, of which 17 are qualified and highly qualified workers; the average age of all the proposed delegates is 45, and 6 of them are younger than 27 years of age.

Continuing their plenary work in the afternoon, the delegates of the Eighth Congress of the Montenegro League of Communists listened to reports on the work of the three congress commissions: Socioeconomic Relations and Questions of Socioeconomic Developments; the Development of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management; and the Development of the League of Communists and Statutory Questions. The reports were delivered by David Dasic, Slobodan Filipovic and Radovan Radonjic.

After the closing speech by Dobroslav Culafic, Vojo Srzentic concluded the 2 days of work of the Congress of the Montenegro League of Communists, to the strains of the Internationale sung by the Stanko Dragojevic Choir from Titograd.

Resolution Adopted

LD282158 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1205 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Report on resolution adopted at the 28 April final plenary session of the Eighth Montenegro LC Congress, held in Titograd]

[Text] Titograd, 28 Apr (TANJUG) -- The Montenegro League of Communists has assessed it as essential to make a resolute change in favor of more intensive and effective economic activity and to bring the volume of investment consumption into line with real disposable resources in order to reduce essentially the role of investments in the social product. Also, by pooling labor and resources and by other means, we must ensure that as many resources as possible are used for the renewal and development of the area affected by the earthquake. Communists will also call for more rapid expansion of employment with the use of various possibilities, including working on several shifts. In the development of the political system, the state apparatus and its domination over society must be contained.

The Montenegro League of Communists will resolutely continue the struggle to consolidate equality between the nations and nationalities and contribute to the cohesion and unity of the Yugoslav socialist community. Communists, like all working people, are dutybound to fight uncompromisingly against Montenegrin, Greater Serbian, Albanian, Muslim and other forms of nationalism in Montenegro. Bureaucratic and bourgeois mentalities, as well as hierarchical relations, careerism and other similar attitudes will also be contained. Similarly, tendencies toward bureaucratizing the work of League of Communists organizations and organs must be eliminated resolutely, as must the very widespread opportunism in the work of League of Communists organs and leaderships.

In the foreign policy sphere Montenegrin communists will fight for the strengthening of Yugoslavia's nonaligned policy and for all the SFRY's essential foreign policy orientations.

These are the basic points of the resolution of the Eighth Montenegro League of Communists Congress, which was adopted at today's final plenary session.

This resolution calls on all communists to contribute to strengthening the self-management socioeconomic position of the working man in associated labor and to an essential change in relations in the distribution of the general social income by redistributing it in favor of associated labor. In this context emphasis is placed on the need to speed up the process of pooling labor and resources. Tendencies toward group ownership and statist attitudes in distributing social income are criticized. On the question of economic relations and other countries, emphasis is placed on overcoming problems that lead to isolationism within republican borders and to the violation of the unified Yugoslav market. Instead of this, the resolution seeks the creation of criteria in planning and earning joint foreign currency between basic organizations of associated labor and an increase in exports on this basis. There is also insistence on overcoming the use of foreign currency as a means of payment within the country and keeping it within work and regional, and above all, republican limits. It is therefore essential to develop criteria to measure the work contribution of production and foreign trade organizations in earning joint income on the foreign market and criteria for the role of jointly earned foreign currency in distribution.

In order to develop self-management relations more quickly in the system of expanded reproduction, we must try to eliminate autarchy in basic organizations of associated labor, municipalities and the republic and take measures to create the conditions for the precirculation of social accumulation on the unified Yugoslav market. In the credit and monetary system, the circulation of money will be controlled and steps will be taken to ensure that it is used more effectively in social production. In the sphere of prices action will be taken to prevent chaotic and uneconomic attitudes leading to an abnormal price rise.

Noting that the self-management organization of associated labor must express and follow the essence of income-based relations and the interests of workers, the resolution seeks the urgent formation of basic organizations of associated labor where the conditions for this exist, but not on the basis of formalistic criteria and criteria that are not income-based. It also seeks the elimination of tendencies toward technobureaucratic usurpation of the self-management rights of workers in parts of associated labor that carry out activity outside the center of their main organizations. This can be achieved by means of organizations within basic organizations of associated labor, when the proper conditions exist.

In the part of the resolution on economic development, emphasis is placed on the maximum use of capacities and economic potential, greater work and technological discipline, economies, the strengthening of cadres and the sharpening of personal and collective responsibility in business and self-management organs. It is noted that Montenegro must become more deeply involved in the international division of labor, and this also assumes a struggle to increase efforts and foreign currency income from invisible exports in relation to imports and general foreign currency income, the strengthening of the competitive capacity of associated labor on the foreign market and a reorientation in favor of domestic sources where production is based on imported raw materials.

The League of Communists advocates that current economic policy measures and development policy as a whole must act to carry out the economic stabilization program. With this aim in mind, the situation and relations in the sector of prices should be based on long term stabilization aims. This includes directing the relatively limited resources of expanded reproduction toward priority directions of development. Therefore it is essential to prevent instances of pressure in adopting investment decisions and to establish social and criminal responsibility for omissions in investment.

Special attention in the resolution was devoted to working out a complete program for the development of agriculture and the countryside, which is assessed as a key issue in the fight for stabilization. That is why the congress has declared in favor of a more intensive orientation of association between agricultural workers, the development of specialized goods production, the creation of more favorable conditions for a rapid increase in production in the individual sector and the stimulation of agricultural workers' interests in association in communes.

The congress has called for the rational and purposeful use of resources for the redevelopment of the area affected by the earthquake in 1979. It has pointed out the need to channel resources to those branches and activities which ensure greater income. The resolution points out the need to sharpen responsibility in investment development in the affected area, in order for programs to be carried out in accordance with resources and plans. In connection with the policy of more rapid development of the less developed municipalities, emphasis is placed on the need to work out a system of measures that will stimulate the implementation of this policy. Emphasis is also placed on the need for more rapid development of economic projects in less developed municipalities in accordance with planned priorities of development and real possibilities.

In the part about the development of the political system, the resolution demands a consistent fight for the realization of the role of delegate organs and against tendencies toward narrowly based decisionmaking. It says that it is essential to overcome the practice of the representative method of decisionmaking and the remnants of traditionalism and formalism. The focus of activities of executive and administrative organs must be the implementation of the law and policy established in assemblies. Included among the lasting obligations of the League of Communists are the development of self-management relations, the consolidation of equality, brotherhood and unity and the elimination of tendencies toward isolationism, statist monopoly and inequality in market relations.

The part that speaks about the uncompromising fight against nationalism says that Montenegrin nationalism is manifested in the tendency toward isolation within national limits, the glorification and uncritical evaluation of events and personalities, and neglect of the fact that Montenegrin history and culture are permeated with the history and culture of the other nations and nationalities. Greater Serbian nationalism is judged to be a form of unitaristic centralist nationalism, which is the negation of togetherness. This is also manifested through the denial of the Montenegrin nation and the appropriation of its history and culture. Albanian nationalism and irredentism are aimed against brotherhood, unity and togetherness, and they sow hatred among the nations and nationalities. This is also against the historic interests of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia and the Albanian people as a whole. This part of the resolution also demands a struggle against all aspects of the use and abuse of religious feelings and religion for political aims.

In order for equality to be developed and deepened, the congress requires that communists act with a view to developing comprehensively municipalities and local communities with a mixed national composition and ensure an adequate national structure in various organs and organizations in those environments, critically reexamining teaching programs and textbooks in all schools and urgently carrying out the principles of the use of the Albanian language and a bilingual administration where this is a constitutional obligation.

The congress also called on communists to be even more active in the delegate system and sociopolitical organizations. This assumes that the League of Communists will be constantly involved in the process of self-management delegate decisionmaking and that there is a critical attitude toward every monopoly in political decisionmaking and the renewal of transmission relations between the League of Communists and other sociopolitical organizations. Activity by communists should be aimed at orienting the content and method of SAWP toward specific actions and at enlivening the activity of trade unions to make them more comprehensively involved in the struggle for economic stabilization and productivity. The Socialist Youth Federation must also participate directly and actively in the self-management resolution of basic social questions. Particular emphasis is placed on the need to strengthen responsibility in society, and in this context to measure the work and attitude of individual collective bodies and organs by the content of their decisions and actions and their specific results. This assumes that, wherever justified, recall and removal from office are carried out. The principle of changing [word indistinct] cadres from the basic organizations of associated labor up to the federation will be implemented consistently, in order to avoid an excess of cadres in administration.

The Eighth Montenegro League of Communists Congress demands that in its general ideopolitical activity the League of Communists constantly be affirmed as an organization of revolutionary action capable of transforming its ideological and political orientations into action. It insists that the League of Communists take a critical view of ideological trends and social practice and openly confront its own weaknesses, overcoming the remnants of mentalities of power, sectarian isolationism and self-satisfaction. The revolution emphasizes the need for ideopolitical differentiation in the League of Communists and the need to regularly raise the question of personal and collective responsibility.

The congress called for changes in the class and social compositions of the League of Communists by the admission of direct producers and cadres who in the process of work have become an integral part of the working class. Thus it points out the need to admit more individual agricultural producers, women and members of the nationalities living in Montenegro.

The question of the League of Communists, ideological and social action is mentioned in particular as the method of struggle against nationalistic, technocratic and other antisocialist and antiself-management ideologies. The League of Communists must wage a persistent battle to overcome outdated social consciousness and practice, pragmatism in work, abandoning the battle, provincial laziness, and the ideology and practice of good living with little work and on somebody else's account. "The struggle for unity in the League of Communists and in society requires a constant ideological dialogue and well-argued confrontations of views in the search for something new, progressive and better," the resolution says, emphasizing that the ideological struggle must take place as a constant conflict between what is progressive and what is old and outdated.

A special section of the resolution is devoted to League of Communists tasks in the sphere of international cooperation and foreign policy. The eighth congress, the resolution says, obliges members, organizations and organs of the Montenegro League of Communists to be involved in maintaining and strengthening nonaligned policy, the independent international economic and political position and prestige of the SFRY and the defense of its sovereignty and territorial integrity. The continued development and promotion of Montenegro's international activity and cooperation with neighboring and other countries will take place in accordance with the aims and principles of Yugoslavia's nonaligned policy. The congress called for broader cooperation with nonaligned and other developing countries, as well as with developed countries and international organizations. It also points out the need to expand and develop cultural cooperation with other countries and to affirm the cultural creativity of Montenegro and mutual acquaintance with the culture of other peoples. Emphasis is placed on the need to develop wideranging, more diverse and permanent links with Montenegrins abroad and on the need to help organs and organizations institutionally and with cadres so that they can carry out this function.

In this wideranging document of about 100 typed pages, the basic standpoints and orientations of the LCY and Yugoslav society as a whole are enumerated and worked out, as well as all that which brings progress. In this connection, there is a review of the tasks of the Montenegro League of Communists in the development of self-management as a political system, in the development of the economy and in particular of economic stabilization, as well as the components of the development of the Montenegro League of Communists and its activity in the system.

Letter Sent to LCY

LD281838 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1245 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Titograd, 28 Apr (TANJUG) -- At the end of 2 days of work, the delegates and guests of the Eighth Montenegro League of Communists Congress sent a letter of greetings to the LCY Central Committee. The letter was read out by Zoja Djurovic, delegate from Titograd:

"Delegates and guests of the Eighth Montenegro League of Communists Congress send you greetings with the wish that the LCY might, in the next period, implement even more successfully its revolutionary leading ideopolitical role in the construction of socialist self-management, consolidation of brotherhood and unity, comprehensive development and equality of all nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, that it might continue to contribute creatively to the strengthening of the socialist self-managing, nonaligned Yugoslavia and its prestige in the world. The Montenegro communists are ready to make their full contribution to this.

"The congress discussed comprehensively and critically the 4-year development of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro and the implementation of the ideopolitical role of the League of Communists. It noted that during that period, despite many contradictions and difficulties, notable results were achieved in the development of socialist self-managing production relations, the political system and general socioeconomic and cultural development.

"Advocating further and more consistent development of socialist self-managing relations and the strengthening of the role and position of the working class, the congress decisively pointed out the need for work to be the basis of all relations in society, the basis of social development and of the position of all social subjects and every man individually; the need to strengthen responsibility in the League of Communists and in society as a whole for the efficient implementation of the established policy and faster resolution of contradictions between political orientations and concrete behavior in social practice.

"The Montenegro communists also expressed their firm conviction that the unity of the LCY is of essential and irreplaceable significance for the unity of the working class, for the efficient functioning of the socioeconomic and political system of socialist self-management and for life in our multinational socialist self-managing community."

[Signed] Delegates and guests of the Eighth Montenegro League of Communists Congress

Central Committee Elected

LD282058 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1032 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Titograd, 28 Apr (TANJUG) -- At their final plenary session, the delegates of the Eighth Congress of the Montenegro League of Communists elected a new Central Committee of 55 members, 11 members of the Commission for Statutory Questions and 7 members of the Supervisory Commission. Also elected were 19 members of the LCY Central Committee, 2 members of the LCY Commission for Statutory Questions and 1 member of the LCY Supervisory Commission.

The following were elected members of the Central Committee of the Montenegro League of Communists: Ilija Androvic, Budimir Barjaktarevic, Radivoje Brajovic, Milka Brakovic, Dr Radoslav Bulajic, Vukola Vasiljevic, Momir Vlaovic, Spasoje Vlahovic, Milan Vukasovic, Radomir Vujovic, Velisav Vuksanovic, Vojin Dakovic, Dr Asim Dizdarevic, Vojislav Dosluak, Borivoje Drakic, Svetozar Dragisa Jakovljevic, Aleksandar Janinovic, Rajko Jelic, Isak Kalpacina, Andjelko Kovacevic, Zorica Kovacevic, Predrag Kojasevic, Nikola Krapovic, Omer Kurpejovic, Scepo Lazovic, Marko Matkovic, Slobodan Mirkovic, [names indistinct], Matija Novosel, Marko Orlandic, [names indistinct], Vojo Popovic, Mico Radovic, Petar Rakocevic, Dragoje Rakocevic, Tomislav Senic, Dobroslav Culafic, Slobodan Filipovic, Hadzija Hasandjekic, Jovo Colovic, Milka Cavic, Milkinko Saranovic, Savo Sekaric, Marko Spadijer, Radovan Susic, [names indistinct] and Dragisa Jakovluevic.

The following were elected to the LCY Central Committee: Milorad Babic, Marinko Bubatovic, Vuko Vukadinovic, Miodrag Vukovic, Stanka Glomazic-Lekovic, Vidoje Zarkovic, Djordje Lazovic, Milojko Lucic, Ahmet Mehovic, Veljko Milatovic, Dr Obren Milacic, Mihailo Popovic, Dr Miljan Radovic, Niko Raznatovic, Zorka Sekulovic, Vojo Srzentic, Vlado Strugar, Nikica Franovic, Drago Sofranc.

New Presidium Selected

LD282044 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1322 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Titograd, 28 Apr (TANJUG) -- The following have been named members of the Presidium of the Montenegro League of Communists Central Committee: Dobroslav Culafic, Velisav Vuksanovic, Svetozar Durutovic, Omer Kurpejovic, Cedomir Djuranovic, Dragisa Jakovljevic, Andjelko Kovacevic, Petar Rakocevic and Matija Novosel.

The following will serve as executive secretaries of the Presidium: Borivoje Drakic, Martin Ivezaj, Vukola Vasiljevic and Marko Spadijer.

Culafic Closing Speech

LD282126 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1344 GMT 28 Apr 82

["Dobroslav Culafic's Closing Speech" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Titograd, 28 Apr (TANJUG) -- Addressing the delegates and guests of the Eighth Congress of the Montenegro League of Communists [LC] at the end of 2 days of fruitful work, Dobroslav Culafic said:

"It can be stated with certainty that the Eighth Congress of the Montenegro League of Communists has carried out a profoundly critical analysis of the social practice of the past 4 years and noted what we have done and what we have not done but should have done. For the most part the congress has spoken clearly of difficulties, weaknesses and contradictions that we are experiencing and has established the tasks of the Montenegrin communists for the next period. The work of the Eighth Congress has clearly demonstrated that the working class and working people of Montenegro have, in the past 4 years, made a fresh and bold step in the material and spiritual development on the foundations of socialist self-management. However, this congress had demonstrated that we are facing both difficulties and very complex tasks.

"The weight of the problems that we face, in particular in the economic life, and the severity of the confrontations that arise in the social sphere do not make anybody feel calm and carefree, particularly not the newly elected leadership of the Montenegro LC. The times in which we live put to the test the firmness of the orientations toward socialist self-management, the genuine affiliation to the revolutionary vanguard and the belief in the power of the working class to be the leading subject in our historical advance. There is no room for standing still. Thus, there can be no going back. The way out is to advance. There can be no hesitation in this respect. If our chief orientation and our strategy is the struggle for socialist self-management, then this cannot be achieved with low productivity, with so much indifference, negligence and idleness as there is today. This restricts our speedy material and cultural development as well as the personal and social standard of living.

"It is not necessary to wait in order to see what the basic message of the Eighth Congress of the Montenegro LC and its chief orientation are. They can be noted now; everybody in Montenegro, everywhere, at every work place -- both the peasant and the worker operating the lathe, every working man and all of us together must work more, more productively and in a more organized manner. We must have a far more responsible attitude toward our work and social obligations. To create such a climate, to consolidate such an attitude is the role and responsibility of the Montenegro League of Communists. I would like to repeat that which the congress has established, that we as a society are in fact spending a great deal and in an irrational manner. This cannot go on. We are entering a period when we have to realize and adopt without hesitation the attitude that we have to work much more and more productively, that we have to organize ourselves more rationally, that we have to save everywhere and that we have to spend only as much as we have, that is, as much income as we create. We must grasp this very quickly, because we shall pay for any delay dearly. Many communists have lost the sense of small things, small initiatives. They do not understand that every inch of cultivated soil, every kilogram of food produced, every ton of steel, coal or aluminium represents the best contribution to the stabilization and the struggle for socialist self-management.

"It is precisely on these issues that we are, in fact, today building the prestige of the League of Communists and the prestige of every one of its members; it is on these issues that the vitality of self-management should be confirmed and affirmed.

"Yes, it is true, our chief problems are of an economic nature. This is the struggle for economic stabilization and for the preservation of the working man's standard of living. But, in the political sense, the main concern and preoccupation of the working people and citizens at this point is the destiny of Yugoslavia, its unity, the unity of the LCY, its integrity, the equality of the nations and nationalities in it and its self-managing development goal. The Montenegro LC must continuously make its contribution to this if it wants to express in a proper way the authentic aspirations and preoccupations of the working class, the young people and the people of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro.

"The implementation of the decisions of our congress will depend to a large extent on the way in which the communists will wage, develop and orient their activities. If the communists organize and wage their actions in a way which will make every working man and every citizen feel called upon to participate in them, if the working people have the feeling that communists are counting on them, then the results in implementing the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the Montenegro LC and the decisions of the LCY Congress will not fail to materialize. More is demanded of communists today than yesterday: the ability to learn from the working masses, to be not only open to them but also continuously subjected to the influence of their self-managing interests. There have been, comrades, great economic difficulties in the past, or to put it more precisely: When have we ever been without them, be they great or small? But with our unity and the decisive political action by organized socialist subjective forces, led by the LC, we have always successfully overcome them. And this we shall do also now. It is of special significance, therefore, that we go to the working class and citizens, openly and with full confidence, with all problems, that we present to them the objective and real situation in a timely manner and that we speak openly about the causes, difficulties, directions and possibilities for the improvement of the existing situation, for a way out of the difficulties or for alleviating them.

"Comrades, it is with the feeling of responsibility and anxiety, with the feeling of the real weight of the burden that we shall bear in the next period that I thank you for the confidence that you have demonstrated by electing us to the Montenegro LC Central Committee, the Statutory Commission and the Supervisory Commission. We shall try to bear this burden responsibly and honorably. Lastly, comrades, I would like to thank in a comradely way all members of the Montenegro LC, all members of the Central Committee of the Montenegro LC and in particular its president, Comrade Vojo Srzentic, for the efforts made and for consistency in implementing the decisions of the Seventh Montenegro LC Congress and of the 11th LCY Congress."

PLANINC ANNOUNCES MEMBERS OF NEW GOVERNMENT

AU291153 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 29 Apr 82

[Text] The Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference is holding its session in Belgrade. Milka Planinc, candidate for president of the Federal Executive Council, has announced the composition of the new federal government. Vice presidents of the federal executive council are Zvone Dragan, Borislav Srebric and Mijat Sukovic. Members of the Federal Executive Council are Abdulah Mutapcic, Nedeljko Mandic, Spasoje Medenica, Ivo Margan, Rikard Stajner, Stojan Matkaliev, Boro Denkov, Janko Smole, Zivorad Kovacevic, Dimitrije Tasic and Jon Srbovan.

The federal secretaries are Lazar Mojsov for foreign affairs; Branko Mamula for national defense; and Stane Dolanc for internal affairs. According to Milka Planinc's proposal, Joze Florjancic is secretary for finance; Milenko Bojanic is secretary for foreign trade; Luka Reljic is secretary for markets and general affairs; Branislav Krajina is secretary for justice; and Mitko Calovski is secretary for information.

Presidents of the committees are Rade Pavlovic for energy; Milorad Stojovic for agriculture; Nazmi Mustafa for transportation and communications; Djordje Jakovljevic for labor and social policy; Janko Cesnik for legislation; and Dragomir Nikolic has been proposed for the position of president of the Committee for Veterans' Affairs.

PROVINCES OWE FUNDS FOR KOSOVO DEVELOPMENT

AU281005 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Apr 82 p 3

[D.S. report]

[Summary] Belgrade, 21 Apr -- In the 1971-1980 period, the Socialist Republic of Serbia provided about 2,164,000,000 dinars to finance a more rapid development of Kosovo, or 227 million dinars less than envisaged by the medium-term plans. Serbia proper, without the two republics, has fully fulfilled its obligations, while Vojvodina and Kosovo failed to fulfill them.

Discussing a report at its session today on providing resources for more rapid development of Kosovo in that period, the Serbian Executive Council decided to adopt the final position on how to provide the missing resources after the provincial organs decide on this problem.

According to the 1971-1975 social plan, 1.38 billion dinars should have been provided for Kosovo. The deficit totaled 58.9 million dinars, of which Vojvodina owes 49.64 million dinars and Kosovo 9.34 million dinars. In the last 5-year plan, 1,353,000,000 dinars should have been provided. However, Vojvodina still owes 135 million dinars and Kosovo nearly 33 million dinars.

KOSOVO PREMIER RECEIVES ISLAMIC COMMUNITY LEADER

AU281007 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Apr 82 p 6

[Text] Pristina, 21 Apr (TANJUG) -- Riza Sapundziju, president of the Executive Council of the Kosovo Assembly, received in Pristina today Mr Hadzi Hadziabdic, president of the Supreme Council of Chiefs of the Islamic Religious Community in Yugoslavia, and informed him about the results achieved in the province's socioeconomic and overall development. Hadzi Hadziabdic informed the president of the Executive Council of the Kosovo Assembly about the activities of the Islamic religious community in our country.

During the talk, as was announced, both sides noted that the relations between the Islamic religious community and the provincial organs were good and that they are developing in the spirit of the Constitution and the law on the legal position of religious communities. At the same time, the importance of the further promotion of these relations and the need for more regular contacts between representatives of the religious communities and the state organs was pointed out. This particularly applies when solving problems of mutual interest. The role of the religious communities in developing and strengthening the brotherhood, unity and togetherness of the peoples and nationalities of Kosovo and the country in general, regardless of their religious or national affiliation, was also pointed out. In this connection, Hadzi Hadziabdic pointed out that the Islamic religious community had most sharply condemned the counterrevolutionary developments in the province and stressed that no member of this community had participated in the counterrevolutionary demonstrations.

KOSOVO EDUCATION BODY DISCUSSES ENROLLMENT

AU281951 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Summary] The delegates to the Kosovo provincial self-managing interest community for education examined at today's meeting a document pertaining to the policy of enrollment students for the coming academic year, and the plan for the registration of first-year students for the 1982-83 academic year. The plan provides for the registration of 13,308 first-year students in the departments of Kosovo University and other high learning institutions, of which 9,158 will be regular students and 4,150 in correspondence courses.